

JPRS-WER-87-042

14 MAY 1987

West Europe Report

SPECIAL NOTICE INSIDE



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| EAST ASIA..... | yellow |
| NEAR EAST & SOUTH ASIA... | blue |
| LATIN AMERICA..... | pink |
| WEST EUROPE..... | ivory |
| AFRICA (SUB-SAHARA)..... | tan |
| SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY..... | gray |
| WORLDWIDES..... | pewter |

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FORMER GROUP SECRETARY ATTACKS SDP'S 'SHIFT TO THE RIGHT'

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 29 Mar 87 p 6

[Article by Carl Otto Brix: "Social Democrats Headed For New Internal Conflict"; first paragraph is BERLINGSKE TIDENDE introduction]

[Text] The former secretary of the Social Democratic Folketing group, Jytte Andersen, has accused her party of moving to the right.

The Social Democratic Folketing group is headed for a new internal showdown. Former group secretary Jytte Andersen gave notice of this in a speech to a Semiskilled Workers' Union [SID] peace meeting in Glostrup yesterday when she expressed deep concern over "the shift to the right in the area of security policy that has occurred in our party in recent months."

"I do not understand a word of it," was the reaction of party vice chairman Svend Auken when the statement was reported to him.

"There has been no criticism of any kind in the Social Democratic group with respect to the line that has been laid out, a line that closely follows decisions made at the party congress," said Svend Auken. "The truth is that developments have proved us right in our continual effort to advance the cause of peace."

Jytte Andersen, who lost her post as group secretary last fall during a violent clash over the division of power, said at the meeting in Glostrup that the Social Democrats have shown the people over the last 5 years that active peace work should not be left to extreme groups.

She also said that Anker Jorgensen can take the credit if a Nordic nuclear-free zone is established.

Her concern was due to the relationship with the Socialist People's Party [SF]. "The only alternative to a nonsocialist majority is an SDP-SF co-operation," she said. "We should not leave the voters in any doubt about that. Therefore we should do everything in our power to maintain the alternative security policy majority with SF and the Radical Liberals."

She was particularly worried about the possibility that an agreement could be reached between the government and the Social Democrats on the security policy committee (the so-called Ostergaard committee). In her view that would mean shelving everything the Social Democrats have represented for the last 5 years.

Svend Auken totally rejected that standpoint.

He told BERLINGSKE SONDAAG that if an agreement is reached between the two parties it will be due to security policy developments in the world. "We must take a stand on the basis of the real situation," he explained.

He could not believe that the talk about a defense policy agreement between the government and the Social Democrats is what led Jytte Andersen to refer to a "move to the right."

"Of course we will always seek the broadest possible majority for peace measures," he said, "and we will do what we can to advance the peace pawns on the board."

Svend Auken does not intend to start a debate in the Social Democratic Folketings group about Jytte Andersen's views and the way she presented them--without notifying the group.

"Of course everyone must be allowed to express himself as he sees fit, even though it is customary to notify the rest of us when important questions are concerned. But Jytte Andersen knows the written and unwritten rules better than anyone else, so there is no reason to discuss the matter with her."

6578

CSO: 3613/69

IDEOLOGICAL DEBATE SPLITS CHRISTIAN PEOPLE'S PARTY

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 21-22 Mar 87 p 9

[Commentary by Charlotte Aagaard and Lene Frøslev: "Duel on Christian Ideals"]

[Text] A profile of the Christian People's Party, where the idealistic left wing, headed by Arne Bjerregaard, has yielded to the realistic right wing, headed by Christian Christensen. The dispute concerns practical politics and the defense of Christian basic positions, social involvement, and whether one may simultaneously be a center-seeking alternative and member of a nonsocialist government.

Last Saturday, at the meeting of the executive committee of the Christian People's Party in Fredericia, Arne Bjerregaard, M.P. without portfolio, took his coat and left the meeting. In protest against the party's decision also to participate in a Four-Leaf-Clover cooperation after an election.

Bjerregaard's exit that Saturday afternoon became the temporary conclusion of a dispute among persons and a political dual within the party, which have been going on since the formation of the party in 1970.

With Arne Bjerregaard, who is one of the founders of the party, several of the party's nominees for the Folketing and rank-and-file members have since then threatened to leave the party.

Behind the Facade

Behind the Christian party facade are disputes which have been going on for many years between two of the party's founders: the current Minister of Environment Christian Christensen, who for years has been regarded by political observers as "the disguised Liberal," and Arne Bjerregaard, M.P., described by fellow party members as "an awkward person."

Since the formation of the party in 1970, the two gentlemen have each been representing their own wings. Christian Christensen to the right and Arne Bjerregaard to the left. Both have been members of the Folketing since 1973, but a couple of years ago, Bjerregaard really fell into discredit by refusing to commit himself to adhering to the party discipline. And in December 1986 he was relieved of all of his posts as spokesman for the party and became persona non grata, a member of the Folketing without portfolio.

Idea or Politics

What has now happened is that Christian Christensen's line has won. A line which in a recent Observa poll was supported by 70 percent of the voters of the party.

Arne Bjerregaard has withdrawn from the party and continues as an independent till the next parliamentary election.

The showdown between the two gentlemen also concerns the issue whether the party should adhere to its Christian basic idea, maintain its social profile or go in for practical politics with the Liberal Party and the Conservative Party.

Will the party be able to adhere to its Christian principles to safeguard the weak of the society while, at the same time, choosing the road of practical politics?

Critics claim that the party has abandoned its original idea. It is now more a question of political existence than of a political idea.

Supporters of the party's present course state that such talk is blind idealism, without any basis in real life.

Among the people who are planning to leave the party is former party secretary Carsten Larsen.

He describes the party's current course as right-wing oriented compared to the basic idea of creating cooperation between the various blocs in Danish politics. Like Bjerregaard's other supporters, he finds that in its government cooperation, the party has abandoned its original basis, which, as stated in its platform, is to be "an alternative to socialism as well as liberalism and conservatism. The party must be "a movement of political ideas across the traditional dividing lines." A party wanting a "policy marked by social responsibility."

Carsten Larsen finds that since 1970 the party has shifted from being a party taking its stand on its positions to its present position as a politically right-wing oriented party. "A political party like all of the other parties," he says, wondering whether there is any need at all for a fourth or fifth nonsocialist party in Danish politics.

Government Offices and Ideals

Sources within the party describe the present conflict as a conflict between persons, which will be solved by using the Four-Leaf-Clover government as some kind of lever. Carsten Larsen describes the events of the weekend as "the government offices which have prevailed over the ideological basis," with clear reference to Minister of Environment Christian Christensen.

Minister of Environment Christian Christensen certainly does not like that charge:

"Calling me a person holding on to my seat! I was voted into the government on the basis of a decision by the broad majority. That decision was upheld in the most recent election. Under these circumstances, would I have to say: Sorry, but I now want to leave, for it would be presumptuous of me to remain and safeguard the task of the Christian People's Party alone? What an interpretation of things! Moreover, I intend to remain in my seat, regardless of the amount of sticky paper adhering to it," he says, denying that he, in any way, has become alienated from the ideals of the party.

Opposing Porno and Abortions

The dispute between the left wing and the right wing of the party goes back to 1970, when the Christian People's Party first emerged in reaction to the repeal of the ban on porno and the debate on free abortions.

The party has always been divided into several wings. At first, it got its members from Christian circles, from the Danish Unity Party, and from the Liberal Center. People looking for a center-seeking, Christian alternative.

As early as 1970 the first showdown with the extreme right wing took place, including the members from the Danish Unity Party, and later on there was a showdown between the party's left wing, headed by the first national chairman of the Christian People's Party, Dr. Jacob Christensen, who had to leave the scene in 1973, and the party's religious "bible-oriented" wing.

New people, such as former party chairman Jens Møller, appeared, introducing a partner race on practical politics issues with Christian Christensen and the present chairman of the Folketing group, Jens Steffensen. For a while the Christians supported the Anker Jørgensen government together with the Center Party and the Radical Liberal Party, but the cooperation ceased when the Social Democrats halfheartedly preferred the support of the Socialist People's Party. And the Christians were thus left in a center-seeking political void.

Social Guarantor

When in the fall of 1982 the Christian People's Party accepted becoming the fourth leaf of the Four-Leaf Clover government, it was assured that it would become the government's "social guarantor."

However, several of the party members who, at present, are reconsidering their positions within the party find it extremely difficult to discern how the party has been the social guarantor. Indeed, one of them even calls it a downright lie and thus a violation of the Eighth Commandment (You shall not lie).

"We have got the 5,000 kroner for large families, but the Radical Liberals should be given equal credit for that, and as far as the family policy is concerned, we have achieved nothing at all," a prominent party member tells
INFORMATION.

It is remarks such as these that cause Christian Christensen to hiss. "It is not true that Arne Bjerregaard would be the only guarantor for the social line of the Christian People's Party. We seek realistic possibilities for carrying through our positions in practical politics. It is our objectives which mark the government," says the minister for the environment,

The national chairman and social policy spokesman of the party, Flemming Kofod-Svendsen, is less definitive:

"Erik Jørgen Hansen, a researcher, has demonstrated that there have been no social cutbacks under this government. The Christian People's Party has been instrumental in ensuring this in cooperation with the present minister of social affairs and the Radical Liberals. We cannot take the entire credit for it. But we keep exerting pressure," Kofod-Svendsen says.

The Policy of the Future

It appeared from the recent debate in the Folketing on children's policy issues that the pressure has not brought about any major results. On the party's social and family policy cooperation within the government, Inger Stilling Pedersen, member of the Folketing, recently said, among other things: "The purpose is to create sufficient interest and possibilities to enable us to carry through some of our objectives. I find that we have achieved a lot. And we can look forward to the day when we shall really succeed in having some of our objectives adopted. It is clear that in our cooperation with the government, we do not present our own proposals. But we seek to get our proposals adopted, and we gradually succeed in having some of them adopted in the government cooperation."

These remarks caused both Steen Tinning of the Left-Socialist Party and Jytte Andersen of the Social Democratic Party to promise sponsor support if the Christian People's Party should have some good proposals which would be "unsuitable for presentation in its own name because it is a government party."

Weakened Profile

Beyond the social involvement, the Christian dual concerns as much the question whether there is something left of the profile as a center-seeking party.

Only eleven of the members of the executive committee were last Saturday able to support a statement from North Jutland to the effect that the party should enter the coming election campaign alone in order to be better able after the election "to contribute to the realization of a center-seeking cooperation on the current serious social problems."

On the other hand, 34 voted for a statement in support of the readiness of the party, also in the coming period, to "undertake government responsibility, provided essential elements of the policy of the Christian People's Party may become incorporated in the government's policy." At the same time, however, the adopted statement recognizes that it "may be difficult for a middle party for any length of time to cooperate with one side of the Folketing without risking weakening the profile of the party."

After the voting on Saturday, Christian Christensen said, on the one hand, that it is "vital for the party" to continue its cooperation with the Four-Leaf-Clover government, while Arne Bjerregaard, on the other hand, fears that it may become fatal for the party to "give higher priority to its existence than to the political idea."

"We were founded as a party of ideas, and we then have to take the risk of adhering to that idea," Arne Bjerregaard says.

"Our justification was being different--the third possibility in Danish politics. If the Christian People's Party merely becomes an echo of the other nonsocialist parties with some Christian trimmings, we become unimportant."

Bjerregaard readily admits that since the formation of the party in 1970 there has been disagreement between himself and Christian Christensen.

"The disagreement has its origin in political issues. Christian Christensen has all the time wanted us to support the nonsocialists, under any circumstances, whereas I consider it a matter of minor importance whether we will cooperate with the Socialist People's Party or the Left-Socialist Party, if that is the right thing to do. The important thing is that we pursue our own policy. Not with whom we pursue it," says Arne Bjerregaard.

No Shift to the Right

"The problem with Bjerregaard is that he believes he is the only one adhering to the party's original line," says Christian Christensen, who angrily rejects claims that the party would have shifted to the right.

"It is deplorable that such argumentation may be used within the Christian People's Party. I fail to discern any kind of shift to the right," he says.

The victor in the Christian showdown points out that the party cooperated with the Radical Liberals when the Social Democrats were in power.

"But you did not participate in the government?"

"No, and we never will, for the Social Democrats have an entirely different view of fundamental issues than the Christian People's Party."

Christian Christensen says it is "nonsense" and "untrue" that the party would have changed from being a party adhering to its positions into a decidedly nonsocialist party.

"The position of the Christian People's Party is unweakened. It is evil to claim that the competent members of the Folketing group have changed their basic positions. What on earth would then be the reason for our existence as a party? We are no nonsocialist party but a party which will safeguard the legislation on the basis of our Christian viewpoints," he says.

The national chairman of the party, Kofod-Svendsen, is less angry with Arne Bjerregaard.

"Bjerregaard and I are in agreement on practically all political issues. But our disagreement concerns the method we would use in our efforts to achieve political objectives," he says.

Kofod-Svendsen sees no conflict in preserving a center-seeking profile while participating in a government cooperation.

"When the Conservatives move toward the center, as they are doing at the moment, they are a natural cooperation partner. If the Social Democratic Party would be shifting more toward the center and would dare to turn its back on the Socialist People's Party, I could visualize the Social Democratic Party as a cooperation partner in a few years. Whether we cooperate to one side or the other depends on the side that is leaning toward the center."

The party chairman gives expression to his great respect for the idealism of the party members but points out that it is also a question of realism.

"It is impossible to reconcile the desire of being in government with the desire of being in opposition," he says.

Core of Voters of Christian People's Party

Irrespective of the current dispute, the Christian People's Party will continue to have a justification in Danish politics. That means both wings of the party, as well as the election researcher Jørgen Goul Andersen, Århus University.

"I do not believe that the current dispute will have any major influence on the Christian People's Party in the upcoming election. The party has an extremely stable electorate with nowhere else to go," says Goul Andersen.

"It is possible that the party organization regards the Christian People's Party as a party seeking toward the center. But the party's voters regard themselves as nonsocialist. A number of polls have shown that the voters of the party regard themselves as belonging somewhere between the Center Democrats and the Conservatives."

Goul Andersen has no doubts that the party will be able to achieve sufficient votes for access to the Folketing in the next election. With the Liberal Party, the Christian People's Party is the party in Danish politics that has the most stable support among the electorate, at the same time as the party has the oldest electorate.

The majority of the voters of the Christian People's Party are women. More than 50 percent of its voters are above the age of 50, and the majority of them live in West and North Jutland.

"Many people regard the Christian People's Party as the doves of the present government, and the party may be strengthened by exercising a restraining influence on the Liberal Party. When we have a bloc policy, the party benefits by its participation in the government. There are many indications that this bloc policy will disintegrate after the election, and I then believe that the Christian People's Party will find its way back toward the center," says Jørgen Goul Andersen.

7252

CSO: 3613/63

ROBERT PEDERSEN, STRONG DEFENSE ADVOCATE, RENOMINATED BY SDP

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 30 Mar 87 p 4

[Text] Robert Pedersen, M.P. (Social Democratic Party), who for 16 years has represented the Herning constituency, was last weekend renominated as the parliamentary candidate of the Herning constituency. The renomination was unanimous.

Robert Pedersen, who is 65 years old, has been subject to strong criticism from large sections of the party because of his opposition to the party line, in particular on security policy issues.

Several Social Democrats were considered for the nomination as parliamentary candidate of the Social Democratic Party in the Herning constituency, but Robert Pedersen was given the absolute first place in a ballot.

7262

CSO: 3613/63

LEFTIST AUTHORS EXAMINE BOOK 'RED MAJORITY'

Consider Only Two Parties

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 6 Mar 87 p 7

[Book Review Article by Torben Krogh of book "Det røde flertal" [The Red Majority] by Karen Jespersen and Ralf Pittelkow, Gyldendal, Copenhagen, 1987, 160 pages]

[Text] The declared purpose of the new book just published by Karen Jespersen and Ralf Pittelkow is, according to their foreword, to "encourage a necessary discussion" of the problems that a Red majority will encounter. Evaluated on the basis of the criterion thus used by themselves, the book is a disappointment. Rather than encouraging the debate, it is a reflection and repetition of the series of problems that in time admittedly have become extremely well known among those who are involved with the perspectives of a future majority of the Social Democratic Party and the Socialist People's Party.

For the Red majority according to Jespersen and Pittelkow is composed of the Social Democratic Party and the Socialist People's Party only. It is a limitation which certainly may prove realistic and which, at any rate, is convenient. Who can judge the consequences of the involvement of the Left-Socialist Party and the Communist Party in such a project?

Very few people, and there is therefore reason to hope with the authors that 'the Red majority' will become identical with a majority of the Social Democratic Party and the Socialist People's Party.

Even so, the problems, however, will become formidable. To put it mildly, this has appeared very clearly from the debate carried on of recent years on the possibilities and limitations of a Red majority. As will be well known to the readers of this paper from numerous commentaries and contributions to the debate, there is especially reason to draw the attention to the economic balance problems as well as the NATO and EC policies in this context.

And they are, indeed, the ones stressed by Jespersen and Pittelkow. There are prominent members of the Socialist People's Party who have shown a sense of reality and responsibility with regard to these challenges. However, the

shedding of skin by the Socialist People's Party has not been completed yet, and if this should occur at the top party level, will the members be able to follow suit? The authors are doubtful.

The notes sound like the familiar crooning from the current debate. And if one wants to write a book on the Red majority, they will, of course, have to be included. The disappointing thing is that they dominate the entire presentation.

A similar lack of originality marks the discussion by Jespersen and Pittelkow of the Social Democratic Party. Contrary to the Socialist People's Party, it is not criticized so much for its policy as for its style. For many Social Democrats--especially older generations--appear as trade union careerists and powerful centralists, we are told. And that will have to be changed, the authors state.

That, of course, is very true. But it is doubtful if this is such a sensational statement as to provide motivation for any of the Social Democrats who have reason to feel affected by the criticism.

In other words, in its actual mission, the book appears predictable to such an extent as to appear trite. And that impression is reinforced by the fact that the book has been written in a studied, popular language, which causes the built-in index finger to appear even more strict and didactic than was actually intended.

For the authors far from master the popular style to perfection. For one thing, their attempts at using an oral language in certain sentences time and again appear rather clumsy in the written language. For the other, they have been unable to drop the political jargon entirely. For example, they write that "a large number of costly reforms are fulfilled at a rapid rate."

One can understand what they mean. But only in the worst kind of parliamentary jargon is it possible to "fulfill" a reform.

Why attach importance to such things? Because Jespersen and Pittelkow themselves in their foreword point out that nearly everything has been through both of their typewriters in what they refer to as their "writing process"--in order for the book to "spread the debate beyond the narrow circles of politicians and experts" (that is what it says).

In the same foreword it is also stated that, for the sake of comprehension, they have limited their references to a minimum. That is true, and that may be in order. But there are some, however, and in view of this, it is almost indecent to present a quotation by Karen Blixen of 1957 as something they themselves have found in their research. It is the statement by Karen Blixen to the effect that rather than being well-off, people want to be good--indeed, "let us say admirable."

This quotation has been used as a link in the argumentation for cooperative socialism, industrial democracy and economic democracy by the current editor

of commentaries of this paper, Ejvind Larsen. And he has used it in a persistent endeavor for nearly an entirely year to convince not least the Social Democratic Party and the Socialist People's Party of what is necessary now.

Karen Jespersen and Ralf Pittelkow employ it for the same purpose. But what they have to offer in this book is, at the most, a slight prod compared with Ejvind Larsen's inspiring and energetic push--to use his contribution to the debate as a yardstick.

Authors Doubt Prospect

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 5 Mar 87 p 16

[Book Review Article]

[Text] The Social Democratic Party and the Socialist People's Party are faced with a fundamental problem when it comes to "the Red majority." The short-term difficulties may ruin the possibilities in the long run.

A Red majority must be manifested politically through a government which is based on cooperation between the Social Democratic Party and the Socialist People's Party--whether both parties or only one of them participate in the government. If such a majority is created in the near future, and if this majority gets stuck, the cooperation between the two parties will be destroyed for several years to come.

And if one takes a concrete view of the current situation, it seems very doubtful whether a Red majority, if any, in the next election will be able to hold its own politically. For both parties have skeletons, which may soon create insurmountable problems.

From the Political Left Wing

This is the way two political observers present things in their book "The Red Majority," which will be published by Gyldendal next Friday. The authors are political journalist Karen Jespersen and media researcher Ralf Pittelkow.

They come from the political left wing and have written the book on the basis of the fundamental position that has its origin in democratic socialism. But the book is a sharp criticism of viewpoints still dominating within the Social Democratic Party and the Socialist People's Party, and which, in their opinion, are out of step with reality and therefore prevent a sensible democratic and socialist policy.

The book "The Red Majority" will be reviewed in AKTUELT tomorrow, and the authors, Karen Jespersen and Ralf Pittelkow, will write the commentary in AKTUELT next Sunday, 8 March 1987.

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COPENHAGEN, GODTHAAB PRESS VIEW ELECTION ISSUES

Chemnitz on Economy, Bases Issue

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 14-15 Mar 87 p 4

[Interview with Lars Chemnitz by Jorgen Dragsdahl at the Hotel Greenland in Nuuk; date not given; first paragraph is INFORMATION introduction]

[Text] Nuuk, 13 Mar--Greenland is "choking in the swaddling clothes of democracy," according to Lars Chemnitz, the "grand old man" of Greenland politics, who is deeply concerned about the influence of party machines on elected representatives.

Lars Chemnitz, who may be Greenland's most experienced politician, has been listening from the visitors' gallery with growing disappointment to the debate in Greenland's parliament this week, which finally resulted in an election being called. He would have preferred a cooperative effort by the two big parties, Siumut [socialist, radical home-rule party] and Atassut [moderate, pro-Denmark party] and he championed this view in his own Atassut Party with respect to "national interests," but his hopes were dashed because "party egoism" triumphed.

Chemnitz has followed political developments closely from the colonial period through the time when the young democracy elected individuals who inspired trust to the present day when parties, central boards, election tactics and ideology play an increasingly dominant role.

He was born in 1925 and educated as a teacher. In 1967 he was elected to the Greenland Council and he became chairman of that body in 1971. He remained in that post until the present home-rule system was introduced in 1979, when Jonathan Motzfeldt of the Siumut Party became head of the government of Greenland. After the dispute with his party over Greenland's EC relationship, Chemnitz resigned as chairman of the Atassut Party in 1984. He left parliament and took up residence in Denmark, but now he is back--working for the Bank of Greenland and living in Nuuk.

Active Spectator

For the time being he must remain in the ranks of the spectators when there is a debate in the Greenland parliament. Because of his residence in Denmark he cannot become an active candidate in the election on 26 May--a fact many people in his party regret. During his interview with INFORMATION, which took place in the restaurant of the Hotel Greenland, many members of parliament asked about his plans with obvious hope in their voices. Seasoned observers think that if the present chaos continues, Chemnitz will probably be "called" to make a comeback anyway.

If that happens it will be in the role of "father of the country." He has praise and criticism for all the parties. And he presents an overall view in the "national interest" that may seem a little oldfashioned in a country where strong business interests and trade unions are pulling in different directions. But--perhaps these interest groups are the ones who are old-fashioned.

Centralism Outdated

Chemnitz criticizes Siumut because the party "wants to run everything from a central position." And he asks rhetorically: "Haven't they discovered in Siumut and (support party) Inuit Ataqatigiit [pan-Eskimo party] that both China and the Soviet Union have started on the road to decentralization?" And he criticizes his own party because it has "locked itself into the opposition role."

Chemnitz brought some notes to the interview and used them as the basis for a little introductory speech:

Disappointing Arena

[Chemnitz] The political arena is somewhat disappointing for me. I have been dubious about the party system from the very beginning. There are not enough people in Greenland to be divided up in parties and political ideologies. It is hard to work together if we do that.

What we have seen during the political crisis confirms my theory. By that I mean that the central boards and executive committees have too much control over politicians. Politicians do not have enough maneuvering room in a given situation. For example we have seen that Jonathan Motzfeldt was too restricted by his executive committee to be able to cooperate with Atassut. It is Siumut's weakness that the party is run by representatives from an enormous geographic area where the current situation cannot be perceived. Unfortunately Atassut is building up a similar system.

Economic Crisis

Greenland is being choked by the swaddling clothes of democracy. The politicians owe the people a policy that is more oriented toward society. It

is a mistake when the parties put their own interests first and those of society second.

Siumut and Atassut should have joined forces long ago. That would be the healthiest thing for the country. Greenland's economic situation is so serious that we simply must join forces now in order to save ourselves. All the political and economic crises are ruining Greenland's credibility in the rest of the world--and especially within the Danish nation. If people stand together they are in a very strong position.

[Question] Do you think Atassut should have supported a Siumut minority government?

[Answer] We should have put party interests in the background. It would not have been hard for us to act as a support party for a year until the next regular election. Atassut has locked itself too firmly into the opposition role. Instead of constantly wasting a lot of energy on defending its own viewpoints and then being voted down, the party should exercise influence by means of negotiations.

Positions in the Greenland government were not necessary. If Siumut refused to listen to us at all, we would still have had an opportunity to topple the government.

Conservative Voters

[Question] Why are you holding an election?

[Answer] Some people were determined to have one. But I am afraid there will not be much of a change in the distribution of seats. The voters are very conservative. Atassut is in a good position because people are dissatisfied with the present government, but the election campaign over the next couple of months will be the deciding factor.

[Question] What about the chances for Inuit Ataqatigiit [IA]?

[Answer] IA is more prepared than the other parties. The IA people are always well-prepared, even in the daily political activity. Although they were part of a coalition with Siumut their two regular members have been in a free position. They make statements that sound good to the voters.

Crisis of Confidence

[Question] It has been said that IA chairman Arqaluk Lynge's statements to INFORMATION in which he criticized Motzfeldt in connection with the radar issue were responsible for the election.

[Answer] That has been blown up because Jonathan Motzfeldt needed an excuse for ending the cooperation with IA. But I can well understand that he reacted. When one is part of a coalition it is wrong of Arqaluk Lynge to say publicly that the head of the government is not doing his job.

[Question] But wasn't Motzfeldt also wrong to give the United States and the Danish foreign minister a public and total vote of confidence before he talked things over with the Greenland government, especially when he knew that IA is skeptical about the bases?

[Answer] They both spoke out too hastily. It would have been more correct to inform the government before Jonathan spoke out. And Arqaluk should have gone to Jonathan before he made his remarks.

Insight--Not Control

[Question] Do you see a need for more control over the American activities in Greenland?

[Answer] Defense is one of the most difficult areas when we look at home rule. It is a national concern. And there are so many secrets. The Americans say they are modernizing the warning system. It sounds good to people when all kinds of committees to supervise the secrets are proposed. But if one carries this to the extreme conclusion, the statements mean that we should tear ourselves loose from the national community. Many ordinary voters listen and think these statements are correct. But they do not think of the consequences. That way one can pick up a lot of cheap votes.

But there is a slight but important difference if one simply wants greater insight. I agree that we should know what is going on in our own country, but it is impossible for us to exercise control. The local government should have as much insight as the Foreign Policy Board in Copenhagen. The government of Greenland has been elected democratically and it is the body that should have the insight. The voters do not need to know everything.

[Question] But there have been a great many scandals extending over decades in which the politicians of Denmark and Greenland have been taken by surprise by the disclosure of new American activities.

[Answer] If I were prime minister I would demand insight into everything that is going on. But I would want the information for myself. There are always secrets where defense is concerned. Jonathan is entitled to have secrets. That is why it is lonely at the top.

[Question] But how is one to avoid new surprises?

[Answer] When we demand orientation on the same level as the Foreign Policy Board, that should guarantee us against surprises. It is unrealistic to say one should know everything when it comes to military secrets.

I have confidence in the government of Greenland when it comes to getting hold of all the relevant information. Siumut is critical enough of the bases so that I believe insight would be adequate.

Press--Necessary Watchdog

But if a prime minister abused his access to information and made soothing statements when he knew better, he would be unequal to the task. I think it would be discovered. In this context the press plays a major role. It is the job of the press to be curious. It should dig into things and expose any abuse of power.

[Question] Many journalists in Greenland say there is not enough freedom of the press.

[Answer] Freedom of speech has a difficult time in Greenland. When certain journalists said too much the government jumped on them and this made some of them nervous.

But I also say that freedom of speech is not what it should be because IA gets more press attention than the two big parties. It is my personal impression that journalists are too positive with respect to IA. But if one thinks the press has a certain point of view one should not complain. One should provide it with better inspiration.

It is also the journalists' job to make the press interesting. They must be alert. They must expand on the issues, but all too often they just print statements from various sides and leave it at that. The press must play a more active role as watchdog when it comes to the authorities.

Foreign Affairs Panel Backed

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 18 Mar 87 p 6

[Interview with Prime Minister Jonathan Motzfeldt, Fisheries Minister Moses Olsen and Siumut political spokesman Lars Emil Johansen by Jorgen Dragsdahl in the prime minister's office; date not given; first paragraph is INFORMATION introduction]

[Text] Nuuk, 17 Mar--The Thule issue and the political crisis in Greenland underlined the fact that foreign policy and defense policy were neglected while home rule was being established, its fathers declare.

The Greenland government needs a committee to deal with foreign policy matters, according to the three Greenland politicians belonging to the Siumut Party who played a central role during the long period when home rule was being negotiated and introduced.

The troika in the Greenland political leadership consists of 48-year-old Jonathan Motzfeldt, now the head of the Greenland government, 48-year-old Moses Olsen, who is the cabinet member in charge of fisheries and commerce, and 40-year-old Lars Emil Johansen, political spokesman for the Siumut Party. Motzfeldt and Johansen were both members of the commission that drew up the guidelines for home rule, which was done in close cooperation

with Moses Olsen. In the early 1970's he was a member of the Danish parliament and a prominent ideologist behind the concept of an independent Greenland.

It is a poorly kept secret that they have different views about the possibility of cooperating with the other big party, Atassut, and such things as security policy issues. But they gathered in the prime minister's office for this interview and the differences expressed were minor.

They are going into the election campaign with a clear message. Siumut is the home rule party and Greenland's independence will be strengthened by voting for them. Their future agenda includes increased insight into security policy affairs, something the Home Rule Act really gives them no control over. But this must be done in such a way that no doubts are cast on the national community.

Fathers of Home Rule

Jonathan Motzfeldt started out by presenting his program statement for the election campaign:

[Motzfeldt] We in Siumut feel we are the true fathers of home rule. We have put ourselves wholeheartedly into home rule and we have been responsible for it for 8 years. That, quite simply, is our entire basic position. We want to go on fighting for everything we have created here in the way of political values and life values, involvement and responsibility. So Greenland's autonomy is expanded, so that we ourselves assume full responsibility for society. Aside from defense and foreign policy, which is something the nation takes care of through the national community. But we want all other areas put in place in the period ahead of us.

We have now taken over the old Royal Greenland Trading Company [KGH] and the Greenland Technical Organization [GTO]. Now we must spend time on internal political solutions. We must arrange our home so that it suits us, not Copenhagen and the Ministry of Greenland Affairs, which is being dismantled. That will be one of our major issues during the campaign.

Democracy's Swaddling Clothes

[Question] Lars Chemnitz said in INFORMATION on Saturday that Greenland is being choked by the swaddling clothes of democracy, by which he means that parties, ideologies and executive committees have acquired too much influence.

[Motzfeldt] I do not agree. We have negotiated a lot on both sides. We have done so for 3 years with Inuit Ataatigiit, which was opposed to home rule but which we brought into the fold. We have worked with them in a number of areas that do not fit into their original position.

We have had big differences with Atassut because Atassut is in favor of the Common Market, while we and IA want to get Greenland out of EC.

Few Examples

[Question] Can you give some examples from the past year?

[Johansen] The government had discussed and agreed on laws in connection with social reform. But some of IA's parliamentary group displayed a completely passive attitude and abstained from voting, which put us in the minority. The important thing is not which issues have given us problems with regard to keeping in step. But a government cooperation does require sticking together; disputes must be kept private. The three of us know that; our cooperation over 15-16 years has not been a joy ride. But when we as a government have reached a decision, it is the duty of each member to defend the government's policy, that is our responsibility.

Of course we could make a list of the points that have caused problems for the coalition effort.

[Question] That is what I would like to have, for there is some confusion about how serious the problems of cooperation have been.

[Johansen] I could also mention the soft drink factory. As a member of the government I presented the government with a proposal concerning the future of the factory and IA had a terrible problem falling in line. But in a way it does not really matter what the concrete problems have been. Being in the government together calls for clearing up the problems at that level before anything else is done.

Prize Bull

[Motzfeldt] And we must not forget that a member of the government said to INFORMATION that I have neglected my work--I am responsible for the national community via this office, after all. If he had said that here, it could have been discussed. But I will not be exhibited to the Danish public or in the international arena as a prize bull who has failed to perform. Although I am not foreign minister, I have been in the United States and at the Pentagon several times and I have received all the information I need on this radar that has created so much discussion. It is not my regular assignment. I get all my information through the foreign minister and the Danish Foreign Policy Board.

You can ask one of your various Danish prime ministers how he would react if a cabinet minister said in INFORMATION that he had neglected his work in relation to other countries. It is no different here and we cannot create a different tradition.

More Than an Excuse

[Question] Lars Chemnitz said to INFORMATION that you should have talked to Arqaluk Lynge before you issued your declaration of confidence in American and Danish policy on the radar issue.

[Motzfeldt] Lars Chemnitz has been out of politics for a long time, so he may not know what is going on. It may seem to an outsider that we should have talked together. And we would have done so if Arqaluk had said something first. He could have done that earlier. He has been in the United States himself and aside from me he is the government member with the best orientation on these matters. But things have moved in the wrong direction. So let us hold this election now.

[Question] Does that really mean that this issue was decisive for you? Lars Chemnitz told INFORMATION that this was just an excuse. Others have said that there was advance agreement with Atassut on cooperation.

[Motzfeldt] We had no cooperation agreement with Atassut. Our views on NATO are very similar to Atassut's.

No, it was not an excuse.

[Johansen] I would like to say that the Siumut executive committee discussed the problems with IA back in November. The radar system is not really what caused the problems. The executive committee clearly indicated at that time that we do not feel confident about having to discuss something in parliament with our coalition partners that has been put forth by the joint cabinet.

Consideration

[Question] Perhaps the IA people feel that as a small party their profile could be obliterated unless they can spell out differing views.

[Motzfeldt] I think we have shown a lot of consideration for the little party. They have three seats out of a large assembly of 25, but in spite of that they have two cabinet seats. The opposition has pointed out repeatedly that IA is overrepresented.

Special Issues Prohibited

[Question] Would cooperation with Atassut be possible after an election?

[Motzfeldt] I would not rule the possibility out, but it is up to Atassut. I am opposed to allowing them to push their special issues through. For example they want to eliminate all monopoly shipping between Denmark and Greenland. That would have catastrophic consequences for the economy of outlying districts because goods would become more expensive. They also want to privatize all housing.

[Question] In other words, Atassut would be unable to pass its special issues?

[Motzfeldt] The negotiations would probably be very difficult if we had to agree on that point.

[Johansen] The basic difference, the one on which recent talks also broke down, involves the entire concept of state ownership. Atassut is very interested in privatization. The entire trawler branch, for example. They wanted privatization or a conversion to cooperative societies within the short period of time covered by the negotiations. It is a fundamental difference that we regard Greenland's resources as the property of the entire country and we do not think they should be turned over to a few people.

[Olsen] There has been pressure from the private sector all along. We are supposed to not just moderate but actually reduce the state's participation in business activities, bringing them into a few private hands. For this reason it is very difficult to imagine a coalition between Atassut and Siumut. But aside from that, as Karl Skytte used to say, it is impossible to form a government before an election.

Radar Surprise

[Question] When did you learn that there could be treaty problems in connection with the Thule radar facility?

[Motzfeldt] It was not brought up directly with me or through our contacts with the foreign minister before this year.

From the information I have received from the Danish government it does not seem to me that the facility is in conflict with the ABM treaty.

But I would like to say that when people are so concerned about this radar, I can easily understand that they are worried about nuclear bombs, rockets and missiles. The rest of us are too. We are also concerned about all the Chernobyl power plants in different parts of the world. There is every reason to be worried about the present day when one sees what can happen in a Chernobyl accident. Your small gardens in Copenhagen are entirely surrounded by powder kegs. I think all of us should devote time and energy to calling attention to things like this that can destroy the whole world in no time at all.

Therefore it is essential that Greenland be a nuclear-free zone both in times of crisis and in wartime and I have told the Danish government so. I think they respect this position.

But I would also like to draw your attention to something former Finnish President Kekkonen once wrote: "Experience also taught us that when it comes to foreign policy a small country simply cannot afford to involve its feelings--either sympathies or antipathies--when it comes to resolutions and

decisions. A realistic foreign policy should be based on knowledge of the most important factors in international politics, namely national interests and the balance of forces between nations."

Of course we are not the ones who pursue foreign policy here, but we have big neighbors just as Finland does. You must be familiar with the Monroe Doctrine, which makes Greenland part of the U.S. sphere of interest. It is undoubtedly just as valid as the ABM treaty.

Ongoing Orientation

[Question] Have you now received all the information you would like with regard to the radar facility and the ABM treaty?

[Motzfeldt] We have received the information we need. But--I also think what the Social Democrats wrote in their resolution is correct. We should have much more ongoing orientation about these things. It is necessary. Therefore I like that part of the resolution. And when I meet the foreign minister on Thursday we must make arrangements for this kind of formalized orientation on a more regular basis.

[Question] Are you aware that in 1980 the American Air Force rejected the deployment of a big "phased array" radar facility at Thule because it might be contrary to the ABM treaty?

[Motzfeldt] I didn't know that. But there are different evaluations of the existing radar systems and the extent to which they should be retained. Politicians change their minds too, you know.

[Question] One result of the debate in the Danish parliament is that the Defense Committee will examine the Thule issue and the mass of contradictory information more closely. Do you support a thorough investigation that could clarify the matter?

[Motzfeldt] Of course. If there are questions that have not been answered, one must investigate.

[Johansen] In general we must say that in the construction phase of home rule we concentrated all our energy on building up home-rule organizations. All our work was done at the expense of a general awareness of foreign policy in the Greenland parliament. We have reached the point in the development of the Greenland political system where foreign policy generally and defense policy are things we will have to pay much more attention to than we have in the past. We must openly acknowledge that. This whole discussion proves that we must pay much more attention to things. Therefore it is essential that we have ongoing orientation so that parliament will also have an opportunity to raise questions if we think things are not going the way they should.

New Committee

[Question] Are you adequately equipped for that or do you need a new committee?

[Johansen] I have said that a foreign policy board is a possibility. We cannot have a base committee, a NATO committee and an EC committee, but we need a general foreign policy committee.

[Question] Do you go along with that, Jonathan Motzfeldt?

[Motzfeldt] The spokesmen brought this up last year in connection with my report on relations with the United States. And we are working on it. Of course we can set up the kind of committee Lars Emil is talking about. But we must also involve the local people at the bases in such a committee, so that they can get all the information available to a parliamentary committee. This is under consideration. We are looking into it.

Relations With Sweden Established

Godthaab GRONLANDSPOSTEN in Danish 10 Mar 87 p 20

[Text] Tuesday, 31 March, will be a festive day in Nuuk when Greenland's youngest consul, 32-year-old Hans Pavia Egede, will be appointed Sweden's consul in Greenland.

The Swedish ambassador to Denmark will visit Nuuk in connection with the announcement and to mark the establishment of diplomatic relations between Sweden and an autonomous Greenland, the king of Sweden will give Greenland's Prime Minister Jonathan Motzfeldt a distinguished order. That will give Jonathan Motzfeldt a total of three major foreign decorations.

Hans Pavia Egede is the chairman of Polar Seafood, which operates seven Greenland-owned trawlers. His partner in the firm of Egede & Brons, Anders Brons, is waiting to be named as Iceland's consul in Nuuk.

Possible Siumut Defeat Foreseen

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 16 Mar 87 p 10

[Editorial: "Springtime in Nuuk"]

[Text] Leading members of the two big parties in Greenland, Siumut and Atassut, have been working on cooperation for some time. The old opposite poles in Greenland's political life were going to embark on a big compromise that could be compared with some reservations to a cooperation between the Danish Conservative Party and the Social Democrats.

When the chairman of Siumut's little support party, Inuit Ataqatigiit (IA), criticized the government leader in an interview with INFORMATION, Jonathan

Motzfeldt and his close colleagues in the Siumut leadership had their excuse. They prepared a "bomb" that would go off when the Greenland parliament opened. IA would be thrown out of the government and the Greenland elite could then sell raw materials to Denmark as a united front and implement economic interventions that would be contrary to Siumut's socialist origins in particular.

But the bomb fizzled. The planned maneuver was unveiled ahead of time when the party leaders were in Helsinki to attend the meeting of the Nordic Council. And it aroused some elements in Siumut who definitely do not want a reconciliation with the archenemy. Chaotic weeks followed in which organizational and often strictly personal factors had a decisive effect on the moves made by the elite.

With respect to the radar issue, Motzfeldt declared his unconditional loyalty to the Danish as well as the American government because the ABM treaty and Greenland's insight into American military activities are subordinate issues in his view compared to the local government's negotiations with the Danish state in other areas. But he is also an individual with a well-developed ego who undoubtedly felt that he had lost face when IA's Arqaluk Lynge criticized his declaration of loyalty. This speeded up the break with the little cooperating partner. He proclaimed a "crisis of confidence" at a time when his own rank and file had not yet become involved in the big compromise. They placed greater demands on the cooperation with Atassut than that party had anticipated. This led to the collapse which the "grand old man" of Greenland politics, Lars Chemnitz, criticized in Saturday's paper with reference to the involvement of ideologies and executive committees in the moves made by the elite.

Motzfeldt is the loser because he did not plan far enough ahead and because he underestimated the opposition. What is left is the impression of a bad round of political gambling. In the final phase the big stick method, which had been used successfully against IA, was tried against Atassut. Siumut threatened economic chaos in the business sector, which led Danish doctor and Atassut politician Jan Streit Christophersen to diagnose the Siumut leaders as "crazy people." Chaos was averted because Atassut and IA joined forces behind the scenes and pushed Siumut to propose a resolution that provided the government with funds for measures that could not wait until after an election.

Greenland is a state that is in the process of being formed. Home rule is both a product of colonialism and a tool for decolonialization.

These conditions contain the kernel of political crises both internally and in relation to Denmark. Siumut's leaders have led the way very capably in the development of home rule, but at the same time they have paid a price. In the past week the editorial writer in the weekly paper SERMITSIAK noted that the party "sometimes seems a little weary after 8 years at the head of the government of Greenland." Anthropologist Jens Dahl pointed out in his excellent book, "Arctic Autonomy," published last year, that the party has

lost a large part of its democratic organizational foundation. "Instead of a continued democratization of political life, centralist inertia has gained the upper hand and elitist practices have intensified considerably," Dahl wrote.

Siumut's leaders often give the impression that they feel Greenland belongs to them. They created home rule and they want political ground rules that put loyalty above everything else. That is probably why they do not seem to understand the role of a free and independent press. And that must be why they found IA's presence in the government coalition so irritating that it had to be ousted. And finally, elitist centralism prevented them from offering Atassut acceptable terms for cooperation.

Siumut may be able to hold its own in an election campaign if "Jonathan or chaos" is the theme. But recent events indicate that "Jonathan and chaos" ought to be the main theme. There is a prospect of an election defeat for the party and that may be necessary for the sake of the party's own health. Some of its leading people are so obviously burned out that they constitute a public scandal, a fact that should be noted without scorn, because they have really devoted their entire lives for many years to an effort that has led to great progress for Greenland. On the sidelines stand people who have taken time out or are quite new and perhaps they can rejuvenate Siumut if the somewhat withered leaders carry the party down to defeat.

But they too must abandon the concept of the party's mission, which in Denmark can be seen in some Social Democrats, presenting problems in the party's relations with the Socialist People's Party. In Siumut's case what is urgently needed is the realization that IA is a party that must be respected when cooperation is involved.

Inuit Ataqatigiit has put the Marxist features imposed on it by the Danish left wing, among others, behind it. Its nationalist and cultural roots have nourished a development that has a strong appeal to the younger generation. IA has fresh forces which the Greenland nation and Siumut could both use.

In the long-range perspective Atassut is less interesting, for it will not stop the renewal, even if the party wins an absolute majority, contrary to the expectations of many people.

For Denmark the arrival of spring involves a number of challenges for which we seem to be unprepared. The prime minister's rejection of the Thule trappers' compensation demand and their request for a commission tribunal are an example of this. It was the voice of colonialism that turned them down. During decolonialization Greenland has fought to expand its authority and this struggle will continue. From a Greenland perspective, the heart of the Thule affairs (the radar and compensation issues) is that Denmark wants to set limits on the process of decolonialization in cooperation with Motzfeldt. That is hardly valid.

Paper Supports Election Call

Godthaab GRONLANDSPOSTEN in Danish 11 Mar 87 p 10

[Editorial: "An Election is the Solution"]

[Text] It is increasingly evident that we are heading toward an early election. The leftist parties no longer have anything to talk about with each other. Siumut has flatly rejected Atassut's demands for the formation of a coalition government. And Siumut is deaf to Atassut's proposal concerning the "decisions that are necessary to save the country's economy."

At the time this is being written the leaders of the big parties have started to blame each other. Jonathan says it is up to Otto himself to decide if he wants to avoid an election. Siumut has done what it could. Otto returns the serve and says: Siumut has rejected our demands and thrown its cooperation partner out. It is the responsibility of the party to call an election.

Negotiations on forming a government have completely bogged down. It cannot be expected that Atassut, a party that is equal to Siumut, will allow itself to be directed by its colleague. Everyone can understand that Atassut does not feel like selling itself for a few measly committee posts. That is not how the game is played.

The injured cooperation partner, IA, is calling for an election here and now. The air needs to be cleared and Arqaluk will not talk to Jonathan before that has happened. But after the election IA will be quite receptive to the idea of resuming the cooperation with Siumut. Arqaluk has indicated that to Jonathan. But the situation will be different if Atassut allows itself to be lured into a political adventure with Siumut. Then Arqaluk would be very reluctant to form a team with Siumut when the regular election has been held a year from now.

All the parties would be best served with an election at this time. Cooperation between the two parties now would just delay the solution of the government crisis. And that would benefit no one.

A truce between a Siumut minority government and Atassut on such a flimsy basis would be a political conjuring trick, a clumsy feat of magicanship. That kind of thing does not last.

That is why we should have an election now.

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CSO: 3613/58

PCI CONGRESS DELEGATES ON CHARACTERISTICS OF MILITANTS

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 15 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by Fausto Ibba: "PCI, Self-Portrait; Poll of Delegates to Latest Congress"]

[Text] It is anchored to the great values of solidarity and justice, but is pragmatic. It does not find its models for society abroad. The first characteristic added to the word socialism is the word "democratic." It believes that in Italy democracy has many defects but functions overall. It regards the Swedish and German social democrats as the European political forces closest to the PCI. It believes that in a new society the pursuable objectives are work for all, equality of the sexes, and participation in political decisions, but not abolition of private ownership of the means of production. These are some of the dominant traits in the profile of the Communist leadership member as emerges from the poll of delegates to the latest PCI National Congress. The first results of this study, carried out by the party's organization department and the CESPE [Center for Studies in Economic Policy], were presented yesterday in a press conference at Communist headquarters.

As pointed out by Luciano Pettinari in the introduction, this is an initial organization of the answers provided by about 60 percent of the 1,091 delegates to a questionnaire containing 73 questions. The CESPE researchers are continuing to work on this material, and in March it is to be presented to a seminar of Italian and foreign scholars. A similar poll was carried out on the occasion of the 15th congress in 1979.

In the presentation, Gavio Angius noted that the study is part of a continuing commitment to define the outlines of what at the Florence congress was called a "modern reformatory party," pursuing a direction of political and organizational renewal. As such, it also provides first-hand material to scholars in political sciences. It contributes to producing a less superficial knowledge of the parties, and indirectly to reform of the political system. Angius pointed out that the Communists are not abandoning this task, knowing full well that any information can be used against them, and in awareness that other parties prepare their congresses, within the fold of internal discussions, without the pressing, daily queries to which the PCI was exposed last year. "In short, we remain convinced that the parties, in

order to renew themselves and regain the country's confidence, need a new openness and transparency."

What do the first results of the poll say about the PCI? What is the evaluation of it?

Angius focused on certain basic data that immediately stand out from a first reading, also noting that the image that emerges from the poll is one of a party that is quite other than monolithic, and rather characterized by the presence of varying orientations, experiences, and sensibilities. In the first place, Angius emphasized, there emerges a younger leadership group (average age 39) that, while maintaining a solid anchorage to the basic establishment values of the party, has been "laicized" to a marked degree. This appears both in the motives for joining the party and in the political objectives and general goals indicated, as well as in the meaning connotations of the idea of socialism. Angius pointed out the effect of this evolution in tune with the transformations in Italian society, and the mark left by the major choices of the party in the last few years. As a whole, there is confirmation of a diffuse demand for updating and renewal, in that the major limitation of the party is identified as "difficulty in carrying out new things." Angius commented: "These are data that we read with satisfaction, while aware that a party thus composed and renewed also poses new and more difficult problems of political orientation and direction."

But let us look at the more significant results of the poll in detail. To demonstrate its importance, the following were present at the press conference: Silvano Andriani, Aris Accornero, Maria Tronti, Nino Calise, Nino Magna and Enrico Casciani.

An initial topic concerns membership in the party, family composition, previous political experience, advantages and disadvantages of PCI membership, the most desired characteristics in a leader, and the organizational forms. In regard to family origin, the poll shows that a proportion of the younger leadership group come from families where politics was not often discussed, in other words from non-Communist families, hence in which (18 percent of the cases) Communists were viewed "with hostility." Of the responding delegates, 49 percent came from other groups or movements, and thus their initial political experience was outside the families of origin. And, among those who followed this route, half came from student movements, 13 percent from "female" or "feminist" groups, and 18 percent from Catholic organizations. Half the delegates passed through the FGCI [Italian Communist Youth Federation]. If one excludes those coming from parties allied to the PCI (PSIUP and PDUP), the number of comrades coming from other parties is small (little more than 4 percent).

What are the main motives for joining the PCI? The answer to this question already provides an interesting breakdown that reveals quite different approaches. The response with highest percentage (28.7 percent) is that the PCI "wants to change the society"; which hints at a concept of profound transformation of the social setup. Then follows (with 27.8 percent) the group of those who joined the party because "it struggles for ideals of justice and equality." In regard to the past, it is striking that only 7 percent say they joined because the PCI is the "party of the working class."

Just as indicative of the training and orientation of the delegates are the answers about what most "satisfies" a Communist member. For the majority it is the "conviction of being on the right side" (30.6 percent) or "being a participant in a historic movement" (23 percent). Only 16.8 percent answer: "Being in a party that is considered 'different' from the others"; and 14 percent: "The consent of the people." With the difference, however, that the younger and women find greater satisfaction (23 percent) in that "diversity," while for the older what is more satisfying is contact with the people.

However, the complexity of this interweaving of motives and perceptions of the meaning of ones political activity is evident in the responses to the following question, which is the other face of the preceding one. What bothers you most as a Communist member? The leading category, 41 percent, says: "Nothing in particular." However, there follows, with 22.4 percent, this other response: "The burden of struggling for a goal that sometimes seems too ambitious." And the researchers who prepared the report on the poll maintain that this may be "a warning light of the personal tensions that may be produced by an activity model that constantly seeks commitment and involvement, even in the absence of immediate tangible results." On the other hand, this fact is explainable by affirmation of a more lay view of political activity. A lay attitude that the poll cleverly sought to test by asking: If one of your friends left the party, do you think you would have the same relationship with that person as now? Only 9.6 percent answered no, while 23 percent were uncertain. The number of those answering yes increased in comparison with the previous poll in 1979.

Then we come to questions that more directly involve the role and prospects of the PCI. For example: Does the political staff that the party has developed over so many years appear to you up to the task of governing the country? Only 11 percent respond "Yes, fully"; 27 percent: "Yes, particularly in comparison to the other parties"; 55 percent: "Yes, but with some difficulties"; and, finally, 6 percent say: "No, in governing one learns by governing."

Accornero drew attention to these responses, answering a journalist who had asked him whether the questionnaire had not been tailored to show that the leadership group of the PCI was in line with the major decisions taken by the party at the latest congress. Indeed, while the poll does provide basic confirmations, it nevertheless presents a variegated panorama, certainly not the pure satisfaction of someone looking in the mirror, taking into account that the responders were basically the party leadership. Tratti, also, observed that the panorama of the responses was "irregular," with generational and regional differences, and with characteristics typical of a transition phase. The fact remains that, comparing other periods in the past, "the urge for renewal, even organizational, is not something that comes mainly from the top, but something that rises from the party body."

We have already stated that the strongest limitation is seen by a majority (exactly 66.9 percent) as the "difficulty" for "our organization" in "achieving the new." The answers to another question further indicate that we are not in the presence of a militant and directing leadership that is self-satisfied and afflicted with artificial optimism. Five years from now, will the PCI be in the opposition or in the government? Forty-three percent

answered: in the opposition; 21.9 percent "in a government with the other leftist parties"; while about one-third answered: "In a broad-coalition government."

Doesn't there remain a strong tie with the experience of the "national solidarity"? This was asked by a journalist, who believed that the answer was yes, since—among the satisfied institutions and groups—the leading group is ecologists, followed, though almost equal, by lawyers and carabinieri. Accornero observed that one cannot view the PCI detached from the countryside, where the carabinieri have a high satisfaction level, which is relatively lower among Communists. On the other hand, in respect to political substance, Angius said one must take into account that the question (what will the PCI be doing in 5 years) is the only one directly linked to prediction, different from the others that call for taking a position on the party "values." He added: "I maintain that if the poll was carried out today, a year later, the answers would not be the same."

However, it should be said that the view of the Italian situation does not have simplistic connotations, still less is it marked with "catastrophism." What do you think about the democracy in Italy? A substantial 70.7 percent answer this question by saying that "it is full of defects, but overall works quite well." While 27.3 percent say that "it is working worse all the time, and soon will no longer work at all." However, it should be pointed out that this latter response was relatively more frequent among the younger.

The democracy of other Western countries does not seem to elicit uncritical admiration. It is true that 49 percent believe that in other Western countries there is "more democracy than in Italy." But it is also true that more than half of those who express this opinion point to Sweden as a kind of happy and distant oasis.

This caution, we may call it politologic, also characterizes other responses. Such as those to the question on the meaning of the expression "social complex." Only 5.9 percent dismiss it by saying that it is "an expedient to camouflage the enduring contradictions." The majority, that is 58 percent, regard it as a "still inadequate effort to describe the change in society," while 13 percent say it is "an elegant way to refer to a reality that one does not understand." At the same time, however, and this is confirmed by the various political-cultural attitudes, there are 22 percent who regard this expression as a "correct way to interpret the modern industrial societies."

One of the most significant is the portion in which the major options are tested. The big "systems" are in crisis. Yet, which is in greater crisis? The capitalist countries, in the view of 24.6 percent. The socialist countries, in the opinion of 16.6 percent. However, the majority, 54 percent, answer: "Both, equally." The question on the possibility of "collapse" of the capitalist system serves as a corollary. It was an underhanded effort to identify possible return to the more naive Third Internationalism. However, only 3.3 percent say definitely that there is possibility of a collapse, while 21 percent answer: "Probably yes"; 57 percent say: "Probably no"; and, finally, 18 percent say: "Certainly not."

The rejection of "models" is confirmed by the fact that 53.8 percent maintain

that in "no country" has a "just society" been achieved (and the single adjective "just" perhaps left more room for ambiguity). However, 13 percent regard the USSR as a just society. Confirmation of the meaning of this response is the fact that the preferred descriptive for socialism is "democratic" (39.3 percent). And in identification of the European political forces closest to the PCI (Swedish and German social democracy, by an overwhelming majority). The opinion on the definition of "breakaway" sometimes used in connection with relations between the PCI and the CPSU could appear ambiguous. Forty-seven percent regarded it as "misleading," 36 percent as "appropriate," 14 percent as "excessive," and 2.5 percent as "bland." Andriani explained that one must know how to read the answers: Some who regard the definition as "appropriate" are opposed to the PCI position and would like a "resewing"; just as there are some who regard it as "misleading" who have a view similar to that expressed by the leadership groups.

But are not these PCI leadership members now proclaiming the end of "diversity"? The response of Angius is that "the category of 'diversity,' if understood as a kind of outsider status, is overcome by time and in the interest of Italian democracy. There remains a party like ours that is distinguished by its concept of politics. Here we cannot be primarily criticized for 'diversity,' even by creating campaigns about Hungary, and now the opposite."

Why Did They Join?

How would you summarize your main motives for joining the party?

Why the PCI:

| | |
|--|------|
| --You want to change society | 28.7 |
| --It is composed of serious and honest people | 5.1 |
| --It defends the interests of people like you | 1.6 |
| --Struggle for ideals of justice and equality | 27.8 |
| --It combines the most dynamic forces in society | 7.2 |
| --It knows how to competently administer public affairs | 2.5 |
| --It is the party of the working class | 7.0 |
| --It is the political force that is most consistently democratic and antifascist | 20.1 |

What Kind of Socialism?

Many definitions have been given of socialism. Which one do you prefer?

| | |
|-------------------|------|
| --Democratic | 39.3 |
| --Reformist | 14.3 |
| --Advanced | 15.0 |
| --With human face | 16.0 |
| --Just | 14.6 |
| --Planned | 0.8 |

What We Seek in Our Leaders

What do you think should be the main attributes of a PCI leader?

| | |
|---|------|
| --Willingness for change | 19.9 |
| --Determination in political struggle | 19.2 |
| --Technical competence | 11.2 |
| --Loyalty to tradition | 1.1 |
| --Correctness in the internal debate | 20.1 |
| --Being in tune with the movements | 6.4 |
| --Receptiveness to the initiatives of the rank and file | 18.1 |
| --Ability to adapt to various roles | 4.0 |

Our Major Defects

In your view, what is our organization's greatest shortcoming?

| | |
|--|------|
| --Lack of internal democracy | 6.9 |
| --Slow assimilation of directives | 9.9 |
| --Difficulty in implementing the new | 66.9 |
| --Inadequate qualifications of the political personnel | 12.8 |
| --Lack of ideas | 3.5 |

Our Objectives: Realism or Utopia?

Do you consider it realistic to pursue these objectives in Italy, regarded as the classic objectives of a communist society?
Yes

| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> | <u>Don't know</u> |
|---|------------|-----------|-------------------|
| --Classless society | 27.0 | 62.8 | 10.2 |
| --Abolition of private ownership of means of production | 12.2 | 82.6 | 5.2 |
| --Rotation between manual and intellectual work | 34.4 | 55.7 | 9.9 |
| --Direct participation of everyone in political decisions | 81.1 | 13.7 | 5.2 |
| --Work for all | 95.3 | 3.9 | 0.8 |
| --Equality of pay | 14.7 | 81.6 | 3.7 |
| --Overcoming of the division between city and country | 74.9 | 16.4 | 8.7 |
| --Full equality of the sexes | 94.8 | 4.1 | 1.1 |
| --Elimination of the state | 6.7 | 88.1 | 5.2 |

Index of Satisfaction

Indicate with a plus or minus sign your satisfaction in regard to the following groups or institutions.

| | |
|---------------------|------|
| --Small businessmen | 7.44 |
|---------------------|------|

| | |
|----------------|------|
| --Carabinieri | 6.23 |
| --Big managers | 5.20 |
| --Ecologists | 8.06 |
| --Lawyers | 7.11 |
| --Church | 4.24 |
| --Banks | 3.53 |

In this table satisfaction is expressed on the scale of 1 to 10.

I See in Our Future

In your view, in 5 years the party will be:

| | |
|--|------|
| --In the opposition | 43.4 |
| --In the majority, but not in the government | 6.1 |
| --In the government with the DC | 0.3 |
| --In a broad-coalition government | 27.8 |
| --In a government with the other leftist parties | 21.9 |
| --In government alone | 0.2 |
| --In clandestine status because of a coup | 0.3 |

Where Is the Just Society?

In what countries had a just society been achieved?

| | |
|------------------|------|
| --France | 1.7 |
| --Japan | 0.6 |
| --United Kingdom | 0.4 |
| --Italy | 1.8 |
| --Yugoslavia | 7.1 |
| --FRG | 2.6 |
| --China | 8.1 |
| --United States | - |
| --Switzerland | 1.5 |
| --Soviet Union | 13.1 |
| --None | 53.8 |
| --Other | 9.3 |

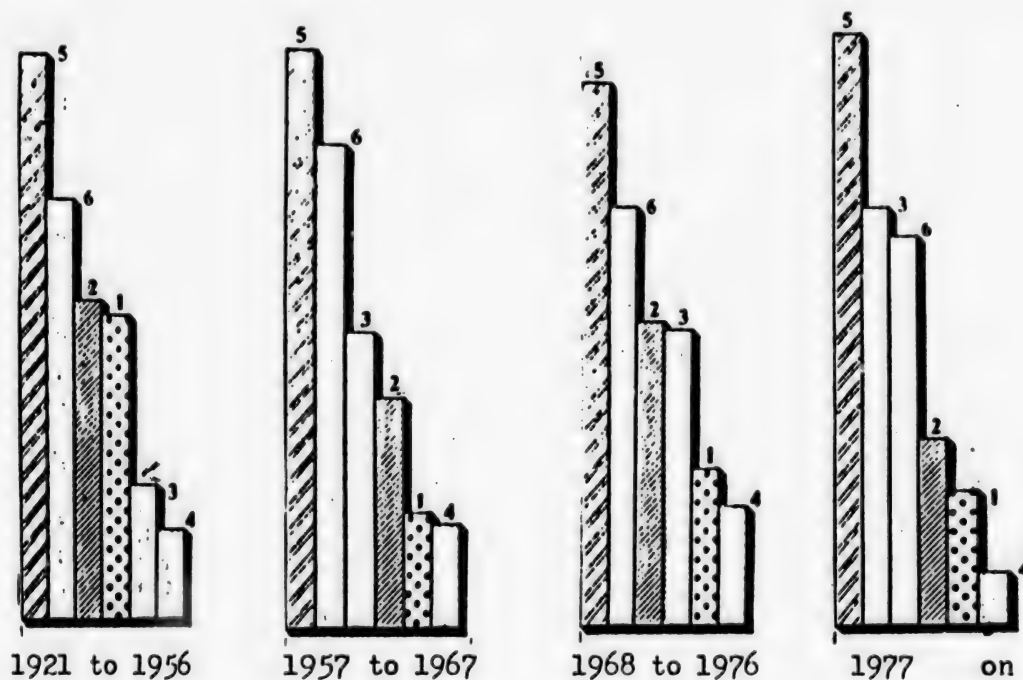
Far from Where?

In your opinion, where does the PCI stand with respect to the major noncommunist political forces in the European left?

It is closer to the:

| | |
|----------------------------|------|
| --Greek Socialists | 34.0 |
| --British Labor members | 21.6 |
| --Spanish Socialists | 14.6 |
| --German Social Democrats | 70.7 |
| --French Socialists | 28.3 |
| --Swedish Social Democrats | 80.3 |

Answers to the question: "What satisfies you most as a Communist member?"
According to longevity of membership in the PCI (percentage values)



1. The solidarity of the comrades.
2. Consensus of the people.
3. Being in a party that you regard as "different" from the others.
4. The opportunity to realize your capabilities.
5. The belief of being in the just party.
6. Being a participant in a historic movement.

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CSO: 3528/94

FGCI CONFERENCE PRODUCES DECENTRALIZATION EFFORTS

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 10 Feb 87 p 6

[Article by Romeo Bassoli: "This Is How the FGCI Will Change After the Modena Conference"]

[Text] Modena—"Perhaps we have not had the courage to call things by their names. But, in short, a problem has arisen of internal power. We have called it "representatitivity," "strength," perhaps out of shame. Nevertheless, we have faced it, and to some degree resolved it." Stefania Pezzopane, secretary of the Young Women's Liberation Centers, prefers to use the clearer word to refer to the "reform of the reform" (but this definition does not please her, she says) that the FGCI [Italian Communist Youth Federation], the "new" FGCI, has chosen to undertake with its organization conference.

A reform that is already a step forward in regard to the very courageous decision (but how wise, productive, will be seen during these 4 days) 2 years ago in Naples. Then, as stated by Giorgio Airaud, a leader of the Middle Students League, "We have lowered the organizational pyramid a little, and now we are trying to transform it into a sphere."

The geometric theme is explained with great clarity in the final justifications; the FGCI has changed, and a lot, but, as stated: "There still remain the old forms of the decision-making mechanism, and, above all, a minimal link between the center and the periphery of the organization." It is thus facing a new decentralization. That is, with recognition that in these 24 months the analysis on youth circumstances was correct, but the instruments should have been coherent with the effort of thousands of youth to live a new political experience, composed of specific and partial choices, autonomy, and not a totalitarian militancy.

The FGCI, which is becoming eight structures with eight membership cards, no longer carries out major campaigns alone, but is among the young people and their concrete problems; federalism, in short, has become a point of departure for a genuinely new youth structure, because the structure of its internal power is new. Thus, we have the FGCI leaving Modena while renouncing "a filtering objective in the flow of information from top to bottom and vice versa," that is, the regional committees. We have the leagues, circles, and centers assembled in regional federal councils through members elected on a unitary basis and through individuals elected proportionally from the

structures existing in the area. And a national federal council elected by the same criteria.

Between these two structures, new coordination of as many areas (Northwest, Northeast, Red regions, Central, Southwest, Southeast, Calabria, Sicily, Sardinia). These areas will be led by a national leader. Thus, in practice, the leadership of the new FGCI will not be composed of officials who live and operate in Rome, but of nine local leaders who work with the national secretary. No party, no youth organization, will have such a decentralized structure.

Within this structure with its lowered summit, there will continue to be 30 percent women (preserved by the statute), but the centers for young women's liberation will disappear. In fact, the decision was to convert them into a movement (there is already a name "Communist Young Women's Movement") that will transversally extend across the whole FGCI. A motion presented at the Modena conference stated: "In our organization today, there is a great potential that has not yet found voice, that of about 20,000 young women members." And it is precisely this "silent potential" that seeks to find its voice in this new structure, whose establishment phase is now underway.

There is also a place in the new FGCI for a singular document, certainly one of a kind. It is a "charter of member rights" that recognizes the right of a membership card holder to consultation on the policy line, the decisions, local and national initiatives, and also through the referendum: the right to information, to criticism of the leading organs, and to use of the facilities.

In this charter there will also be a section with a new tone, because it refers to "the right to respect of the living time of the membership, beginning with the times meetings are called and their length, and including the need for an acceptable frequency," and "respect for the time of all the individual members." This is the most obvious effort to halt that "exhausting and needless repetition of meeting after meeting," which the FGCI recognizes as one of its major deficiencies.

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CSO: 3528/94

LABOR PARTY SEEN LOSING MALE VOTERS SINCE 1985 ELECTION

Poll Examines Parties' Images

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 19 Feb 87 p 3

[Article by Finn Langeland: "Labor Party Has Conquered Reliability Crisis"; first paragraph is AFTENPOSTEN introduction]

[Text] A nonsocialist government will bring inflation down. It is expected to be better for merchandising than a Labor Party government. Combatting bureaucracy and working for lower taxes are two other main issues for the nonsocialist side. But a majority believes that the Labor Party would be best for advancing social welfare and improve health care in this country. And those two issues are clearly most important for most people.

This comes from an opinion poll conducted by Gallup/NOI for AFTENPOSTEN. The poll--which was conducted in December 1986 and queried 1000 people from all over the country--shows that the Labor Party has conquered the reliability crisis which a corresponding poll uncovered in June 1986.

As Before the Election

Last summer the nonsocialists could be pleased that they were hard on the heels of the Labor Party, with almost as high public confidence as problem solvers in the health and social sectors as the Social Democrats.

Six months later the outlook is about the same as it was before the election of 1985: 50 percent of those asked believe that a Labor Party government is best qualified to look after social welfare, only 30 percent had most confidence in the nonsocialists.

As for better health care and the elimination of hospital lines, 47 percent answered that they prefer the Labor Party to take care of these problems, while 34 percent thought that a nonsocialist government would be best. The corresponding figures in June of last year were: 42 percent preferred a Labor Party government, 41 percent preferred the nonsocialists.

It is correct that this poll was taken among a somewhat larger group of Labor Party voters than voted for Gro Harlem Brundtland's party in the Storting election of 1985--44.1 percent compared with 40.8--but that alone does not explain the renewed confidence in the party on important issues.

It is more probable that the Labor Party has profited--also in its reliability factor--by the nonsocialist split which was prominent in the news last fall.

Altogether 56 percent of those asked consider improved health care as the thing they think about most. Party sympathies come through here: 68 percent of Labor Party voters consider that as the most important, as do 53 percent of the Conservative voters, 63 percent of the Christian People's Party voters and 50 percent of the Progressive Party voters.

Social Welfare

The different parties' voters were less unanimous on the question of social welfare and justice. That was considered important by 76 percent of Socialist Left voters and 61 percent of Labor Party voters. But only 40 percent of Conservative voters rated it as high.

Those who sympathize with Rolf Presthus and Johan J. Jakobsen are concerned with operating the Norwegian marketplace skillfully, with a sound economy and secure jobs. Conservatives and Center Party voters consider that very important, according to the poll.

Middle Parties

It appears that the middle party voters are not very concerned with getting taxes and fees reduced. While a total of 16 percent replied that it was important to them, there were only 4 percent of Christian People's Party voters and 7 percent of Center Party voters who agreed. The distance to the Conservatives--22 percent--is impressive. The poll indicates that tax reductions are higher priority among Socialist Left Party voters than among those who voted for one of the middle parties in the last election.

Defense

While the nonsocialist government alternative has so-far scored higher than the Labor Party on the subject of defending Norway, this time the Labor Party is one percent ahead, 35 to 34 percent. But here the entire 35 percent replied, which gives a hint that the question was carelessly phrased. Defense of Norway is usually tied to work for peace and disarmament, which leads to the answer that more Socialist Left voters chose than Conservative voters as most important for them.

It was especially evident in Oslo and Akershus counties, among members of LO [Trade Union Federation] and those earning under 150,000 kroner per year that better health care for them was the most important item on the political agenda. Among higher wage earners and members of other trade organizations than LO, this item was given a lower priority.

Management of Business Norway

People living in densely populated areas and union members outside of LO claim that the management of Business Norway is an issue they are strongly interested in. Weak interest in this theme is shared by the low-paid and people who live in less populous areas.

The poll also indicates very limited interest in increasing foreign aid. As few as 3 percent of those asked thought it was most important. Only Socialist Left voters (10 percent) and Christian People's Party voters have strong feelings here.

Latest Poll: Nonsocialists Lead

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 28 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by Kjell Hanssen: "Labor Party Advances, But Nonsocialists in the Lead"; first paragraph is AFTENPOSTEN introduction]

[Text] The Labor Party advanced to 40 percent in the Norwegian Gallup Poll for March. That will bring joy to the party congress, but it will also cause the party strategists to reflect. Because if the poll had been the Storting election, it would have resulted in a nonsocialist majority. And it would have been Rolf Presthus, not Gro Harlem Brundtland, who would have had a foundation on which to build a government.

The Labor Party is therefore doing well at the moment, but not well enough. Together the four nonsocialist parties are holding their position since the February poll. They have a total of 50.5 percent of the voters compared with 45.5 for the Labor Party plus the Socialist Left. Since the Storting election the Conservative, Christian People's, Center and Progressive Parties have advanced by 1.5 percent, and the two socialist parties have lost 0.5 percent. The nonsocialist lead has therefore become greater.

Less Confusion

The picture now developing is that the Labor Party claims to be better off than when it was in the confusing phase which the government was in last summer and fall. But the Labor Party is still weaker than at the time of the Storting election, and considerably weaker than before they took over government power last spring. One year ago the Labor Party had the support of 43.9 percent of the voters--3.9 percent more than now.

The picture is the opposite for the Conservative Party. The party has clearly lost in relation to the first time after the change of government, when they were on the offensive against a shaky Brundtland government, and a new nonsocialist government seemed just around the corner. But the Conservatives are still better off than at the time of the Storting election, and they have greater voter support now than when they lost the government.

Doubt in the Ranks

Gradually as the prospects for forming a new government became slimmer a clear frustration appeared among Conservative voters. That can be detected in the declining numbers for stability--meaning the number of older voters who simply hang on with the party. That can also be seen in the relatively clear advance for the Progressive Party. Hagen's party obviously gains by remaining outside of discussions between the three former cooperating parties about why not form a new nonsocialist government.

The Conservatives must also fear the effects of concern about the party's prime minister candidate, Rolf Presthus. Reactions to this are not visible in today's poll, which was taken earlier in March. The Conservative Party depends on these discussions coming to an end, ranks being closed, and having a prompt clarification of the government question. That is necessary for the party to regain the political initiative.

For Reflection

It is the unwillingness of the Center Party which now stands in the way of a new nonsocialist government. So far the party has done well outside of government responsibility. This time the party declined by 1.0 percent, and the same thing happened in Scanfacts March poll for VERDENS GANG. Support of 6.0 percent is the lowest registered for the Center Party by Norwegian Gallup since April of last year.

This is also a level which the party cannot permit itself to fall under if the party is to avoid a loss of seats in the next election. Signs of further weakness in support can quickly lead to the Center Party not being inclined to keep the Brundtland government in power.

| | Stortings- valget 1985 % | 1986 Mars % | April % | Mai % | Juni % | Aug. % | Sept. % | Okt. % | Nov. % | Des. % | 1987 Jan. % | Feb. % | Mars % |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|------------|----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Ap. | 40.8 | 43.3 | 43.9 | 41.2 | 39.9 | 35.5 | 36.0 | 39.6 | 38.0 | 39.2 | 37.6 | 39.2 | 40.0 |
| DLF. | 0.5 | 0.1 | 0.7 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.4 | 0.7 | 0.1 | 0.6 | 0.1 |
| Fr.p. | 3.7 | 3.1 | 3.3 | 3.6 | 3.5 | 2.5 | 3.2 | 3.1 | 3.6 | 4.1 | 5.0 | 4.2 | 5.1 |
| H. | 30.4 | 30.9 | 28.8 | 31.0 | 32.1 | 35.5 | 34.5 | 33.5 | 31.9 | 30.5 | 31.3 | 31.4 | 31.2 |
| Kr.F. | 8.3 | 7.2 | 7.3 | 5.9 | 8.4 | 8.4 | 7.7 | 8.2 | 9.6 | 8.1 | 8.1 | 7.9 | 8.2 |
| NKP. | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.3 |
| RV. | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.7 | 0.3 | 0.6 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.8 | 1.1 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.7 |
| Sp. | 6.6 | 6.0 | 5.8 | 7.4 | 6.7 | 6.7 | 7.3 | 6.1 | 6.8 | 6.7 | 7.2 | 7.0 | 6.0 |
| SV. | 5.5 | 5.7 | 6.6 | 5.9 | 5.8 | 7.2 | 6.9 | 5.7 | 6.2 | 6.0 | 6.6 | 5.9 | 5.5 |
| V. | 3.1 | 2.2 | 2.5 | 2.5 | 2.5 | 3.3 | 2.7 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 3.4 | 2.8 | 3.0 | 2.7 |
| Andre. | 0.4 | 0.6 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.5 | 0.0 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.1 |
| Sum. | 100.1 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 99.9 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 99.9 | 100.1 | 100.0 | 100.1 | 100.2 | 100.0 | 99.9 |
| Ap. + SV. | 46.3 | 49.0 | 50.5 | 47.1 | 45.7 | 42.7 | 42.9 | 45.3 | 44.2 | 45.2 | 44.2 | 45.1 | 45.5 |
| H + Kr.F. | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| + Sp. | 45.3 | 44.1 | 41.9 | 45.3 | 47.2 | 50.6 | 49.5 | 47.8 | 48.3 | 45.3 | 47.1 | 46.3 | 45.4 |
| H + Kr.F. + | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sp. + Fr.p. | 49.0 | 47.2 | 45.2 | 48.9 | 50.7 | 53.1 | 52.7 | 50.9 | 51.9 | 49.4 | 52.1 | 50.5 | 50.3 |

Tallene angir hvor mange som ville stemme ved et eventuelt stortingsvalg imorgen, av dem som helt sikkert ville stemme. Det er også spurt hvilket parti man stemte på ved stortingsvalget i 1985. Forskjellene mellom de enkelte partiers oppslutning på dette spørsmål

og faktisk valgresultat i 1985 er benyttet som vekt-faktor.

Intervjuene ble foretatt i tiden 2.—13. mars 1987.

Norsk Gallup Institutt A/S

Key:

Ap. Labor Party
DLF Liberal People's Party
Fr.p Progressive Party
H Conservative Party
Kr.f Christian People's Party
NKP Norwegian Communist Party

RV Radical Left Party
Sp Center Party
SV Socialist Left Party
V Liberal Party
Andre Others

The figures report how many would vote in a Storting election tomorrow, of those who are certain they would vote. They were also asked which party they voted for in the Storting election of 1985. The differences between the individual parties' support on that question and the actual election result in 1985 was used as a weight factor.

The interviews were conducted 2-13 March 1987.

Norwegian Gallup Institute A/S

Long Range Poll Trends Examined

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 4 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Hans Chr. Erlandsen: "Labor Party Losing the Fight for Younger Men"; first paragraph is AFTENPOSTEN introduction]

[Text] This has happened since the Storting election in 1985: the Labor Party has strengthened its position in north Norway, Conservatives have gained in south Norway. The Conservatives have increased their share of worker's votes, especially among the young. The men are leaving the Labor Party. Among men the Conservative and Labor Parties are almost the same size, it is women who make the Labor Party the biggest party.

This comes from a labor memorandum which researcher Tor Bjorklund at the Institute for Social Research has written. He used opinion polls put out by the Marketing and Media Institute during the period January-September 1986.

Political Points

The most important political point with the clear tendencies that Bjorklund points out is that they confirm a development has already been taking place for some years. This development is for the time being the Labor Party's biggest headache, something which was most clearly expressed in party secretary Thorbjorn Jagland's speech to the party congress last Saturday.

What he said was that the party needed a new policy to meet the new needs of the voters. The old solidarity policy is not the answer to the problems of today, the party lacks the central idea which can tie the voters to the party despite generation conflicts and special interests.

In Tor Bjorklund's memorandum entitled "Voter Shifts After the Departure of the Willoch Government" he looked at developments in relation to dwelling, age, sex and occupation. One of the clear tendencies is that where the Labor Party loses, the Conservative party gains, and vice versa. After the departure of the Willoch government last year the Conservative wave reached a new high, which flattened out in August. At the same time there were indications that former Labor Party voters had sat on the fence, they were uncertain as to how they should vote. It appears that the party is just beginning in recent months to conquer this crisis of confidence, helped by perplexity on the nonsocialist side. But still on most polls the party is below the result that it had in the 1985 election.

North Norway

The Labor Party advanced especially strongly in north Norway in Vestlandet. The advance in the west was noteworthy and without tradition. Developments in 1986 show that the Labor Party continued to advance in the north, while the Conservatives grew in the central part of the country. The west Norwegian area which was the special territory of the middle parties is disappearing. Ostlandet and Vestlandet are becoming more alike in their political

composition. The difference between north and south in Norway is growing deeper, however.

"It is also in the cities where the Labor Party has its greatest problems," said Jagland in his speech.

Dramatic

Bjorklund finds that the Labor Party in 1986 experienced its greatest decline among workers. And the younger the workers, the more they voted Conservative. This tendency confirms that class or profession no longer play the great role in how one votes. It is more important which sector one belongs to. It is especially the workers in private industry who go over to the Conservatives. Because also the polls from 1986 show that the Conservative and Progressive Parties are stronger among workers in the private sector than they are among public functionaries.

Functionaries

The socialist parties, however, have not been able to conquer a majority of the public functionaries as has happened in Sweden. On the other hand the Conservative and Progressive parties have over half of the votes from among the private functionaries.

Functionaries are a professional group which is growing in numbers. Professor and election researcher Henry Valen has pointed out to AFTENPOSTEN that the fight for the votes of the functionaries can decide elections in the years to come.

For the Labor Party that can mean that they must pay closer attention to professional groups which are organized outside LO. The union movement already has a declining number of the party's voters. The party secretary clearly said at the party congress that this can create tensions between LO and the party.

Age

How old are you? The answer to this question will suggest whom you will vote for. This has now become more important than which class one belongs to, because our society seems more divided into generations than before, writes Bjorklund.

The Labor Party is strongest among the oldest, prewar generation, those over 55. Here the Conservatives are the weakest. The middle generation (40-54) is one of the two conservative generations, the youngest (15-29) is the other. In the latter the Progressive Party is strong. SV is especially well represented in the "68 generation", those from 30 to 39.

Youths, therefore, are leaving the Labor Party. The party is having the same problems as the Christian People's Party had some years ago: when the members and voters die of old age they are not being replaced by new, young people.

"The Labor Party will inevitably be a smaller party if we are not able to draw in the new generations with us," said Jagland.

NONSOCIALIST PARTIES MORE OPTIMISTIC ON COOPERATION AFTER TALK

Christian Party Sets Demands

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 9 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Lars Hellberg: "Christian People's Party Getting in Position"; first paragraph is AFTENPOSTEN introduction]

[Text] "I believe that we will succeed and that we will be able to take the responsibility for the result," said the chairman of the Christian People's Party [Kr.F], Kjell Magne Bondevik at a press conference yesterday. He emphasized that the party's goal is to return to the government position during the spring.

He directed an earnest request to the Conservative Party to change its position on anonymity for sperm donors and freezing of fertilized eggs. "We have taken up those questions in lengthy nonsocialist discussions. The climate of cooperation will improve considerably if the Conservative Party will meet us on this issue," said Bondevik.

Will Be Approved

With reference to the new law being approved before any possible shift of government, he pointed out that this lack of agreement did not create problems in government negotiations.

"We cannot refrain from entering the government because laws have been approved that we disagree with," said Bondevik. At the party's congress during Easter the main weight will be put on how Kr.F will use its influence in the opposition, and "when the party is hopefully back in the government." With reference to the Progressive Party's preference for a nonsocialist government, Bondevik said that both the political and the parliamentary situation require that the three former government parties take over the government.

Make Demands

The party will make political demands in the negotiations with the Conservative and Center Parties. Therefore Kr.F places decisive weight on

maintaining foreign aid at a high level and preventing it from being used as a negotiating tool. Furthermore they are demanding a more aggressive family policy in the middle.

Bondevik does not expect substantial problems in relations with the two other parties. He describes the formation of a new three-party government as the least of problems. Kr.F has not taken a stand on whether to run its own prime minister candidate. At the press conference Bondevik emphasized that he did not want to show his cards in advance. At the same time as he said that the distribution of posts in the Willoch government in 1985 was acceptable for his party, Bondevik emphasized that he found it unreasonable that the same party (Conservative) should hold the posts of prime minister, foreign minister and finance minister.

He admitted, however, that the Conservatives are strong, and he had only good things to say about Rolf Presthus. "It is not easy to be tested as he has recently been. It will be easier for him when he enters the roll that the party has intended for him," said Bondevik. He let it slip that Presthus will have no competition for the prime minister post. He would not say whether Kr.F was coveting the foreign minister post.

According to Bondevik it would have been desirable, but hardly possible, for there to be a nonsocialist statement of clarification before the party congress. "But," he continued, "negotiations should be concluded during the spring session, and a common position on the government's revised national budget will be a natural windup. It would be terrible for nonsocialist cooperation if we enter a long summer and the succeeding election campaign without a political clarification.

Presthus Predicts Summer Government

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 10 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Thorleif Andreassen: "Nonsocialist Unity After Summit: The Shift is Closer"; first paragraph is AFTENPOSTEN introduction]

[Text] With the help of good friends Rolf Presthus expects to be prime minister by summer. "I am not so excited about my own candidacy, but about a new three-party government which now seems closer," said the Conservative Party's prime minister candidate. The leader of the Center Party says he agrees with Rolf Presthus in that a new cooperative government now seems more realistic, but that the political facts will decide. Johan J. Jakobsen denies that his party has put obstacles in the way of a new government.

At a press conference yesterday the leaders of the three former government parties said that the political foundation for a new nonsocialist government will be clarified before summer vacation. They indicated that work on the revised national budget, which was presented on 15 May, can create the basis for a shift.

Concrete Track

A swiftly functioning committee will be established with representatives from the three parties to evaluate the consequences of changed assumptions on long term policies. At the press conference it was established that the discussions had now come on a more concrete track. It was emphasized by the Conservative, Christian People's and Center Parties that it is a common goal to get a new government which is built on a political foundation that they can take common responsibility for.

Crisis Issue

The three party leaders admitted that the revised national budget can develop into a crisis issue. Rolf Presthus characterized it as the most important issue that the Storting will deal with in the spring session. "Here is the clear difference of opinion between the government and the three parties. It is a matter of the direction that Norway will go in the coming years."

The Districts

Johan J. Jakobsen said that in the economic field, the Center Party disagrees with the government's devaluation, shortening of work hours, handling of last year's wage agreement and parts of the economic policy being followed. The party leader emphasized that it is very important for the Center Party to have a district policy which can solve the problems of the districts. He also said that genetic questions are important.

Influence

"Every single day important decisions are made in every department. These are decisions which the Storting does not have especially large possibilities to influence. When a party seeks government responsibility, it is obvious that it should first get the greatest possible influence over developments," maintained Jakobsen, and added that such influence must be at least as great as the Center Party has today.

Obligated

Kjell Magne Bondevik reminded that at the Kr.F congress the party was obligated to work for a new government. "A precondition is that a political foundation is reached for new cooperative government," said Bondevik, who emphasized that the following factors must have priority: foreign aid, family policy, environment, education and district policy.

Rearrangement

To the question of whether a new government will go for more economic tightening than that of Gro Harlem Brundtland, Presthus answered that he must first see what the Labor Party's tightening package contains. "For the Conservatives it is essential that there be a rearrangement of policies to correct the big problems. We can not, however, promise the people a more generous economy in the near future."

Kjell Magne Bondevik said that all the three parties advocated tighter economic policies than those approved last year. "If there is to be further tightening, the Kr.F demands that it be applied to both private and public consumption, not just the public."

Should Succeed

Presthus, Bondevik and Jakobsen pointed out that it would be a defeat for nonsocialist cooperation if they did not succeed in laying a political foundation for a cooperative government. It was said, however, that if there was failure, that would not prevent another attempt later.

Kjell Magne Bondevik said that the question of cabinet was very important for the current prime minister, and that the government's desire to remain in power is so strong that it is in danger of being completely without contour.

Hagen

The Conservative, Christian People's and Center Parties make fools of the people, said Progressive Party leader Carl I. Hagen. He pointed out that the former government parties, after seven months of discussions will now clarify the situation by turning over the discussions to what he calls subordinate functionaries in a working group.

"What is now happening is a good example of the truth in the saying, 'When the devil wants nothing to happen, he appoints a committee,'" said Hagen. He said that "looking for a clarification of the political foundation for a cooperative policy" is again postponed until the subordinate working group has made its report.

"After having had conversations for seven months the three parties have concluded that they need authorization from their Storting groups to talk some more," said Hagen. He said it is a regular wind game played by the Conservatives, Christian People's Party and the Center Party, because the talk about cooperation is in contrast with the real situation in the Storting, where the usual pattern is for Kr.F and the Center Party to vote, on issue after issue, with the Labor Party.

Conservatives, Christians Reach Agreement

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 10 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Morten Malmo: "Presthus: Everybody Must Gain Something"; first paragraph is AFTENPOSTEN introduction]

[Text] "My view of political cooperation in government is that all participants must be more satisfied with participation than if they had remained outside!" This is how Conservative chairman and prime minister candidate Rolf Presthus presents the general line he will follow in the clarification conversations after Easter and in the government, if the process which is now begun causes a shift of power.

"Does one not become a little tired of eating political camels, which must of course be done when when political compromises are being arranged?"

"I do not believe it is eating camels which best illustrates the problem. It is more accurately being certain that everybody has enough on their plate. It is more important what one gains himself, than the difficulty that one causes others," answered Presthus.

The Time is Ripe

Presthus is relieved following yesterday's meeting with the Christian People's Party and the Center Party. Relieved that the work on a clarification can proceed systematically. Relieved because the time for a shift of power has drawn closer and relieved because he knows that the objections and the criticism that he has received will now be silenced. About this he says:

"It has been a problem for the Conservative Party that our strategy has been such low visibility. Some have interpreted that as lack of decisiveness. I know that it was not possible before now to make progress in the conversations between the three parties. If the initiative had been taken too soon, negotiations could have halted. We were forced to wait until the time was ripe."

"Is Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland and her cabinet now being stubborn?"

"Every minority government is stubborn. If the government does not put forth proposals which fit the new economic situation, everybody must be ready for what we call a 'parliamentary situation.'"

"Can it be said that the three parties now 'have decided on domestic unity'?"

"No, but expectations that we will agree are now much greater than before. The process in recent days has brought the three parties closer to each other than they were just a few weeks ago. We have not only achieved a rhythm in our negotiations. They have also become more result oriented. The process now underway will also strengthen the pressure for us to agree."

Foundation

The six top politicians from the Conservative, Christian People's and Center Parties have come a distance along the way to clarifying the political foundation for a new government. "We have a good way to go," admitted Presthus, and holds a memo which he says is now 14 pages long. He will not say a word about its contents. He does not want to talk now about the government group which must be assembled, if things really work out. "First we must really concentrate on establishing the political foundation," said Presthus professionally. We have suspected him of having a long list in an inside pocket. When the move toward a shift of government first becomes clear, many names will come forth. The prime minister candidate will of course be prepared.

Forde: Nonsocialists Now Serious

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 11 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Lars Hellberg: "The Power Shift is Getting Closer: Now the Nonsocialists Are Serious"; first paragraph is AFTENPOSTEN introduction]

[Text] "It is obvious that they are now serious." With that laconic comment, Einar Forde, the parliamentary leader of the Labor Party, summarized the tone-setting politician's reaction to the combined nonsocialist declaration. At the same time, however, Forde emphasized that the three former governing parties are drawing the bow so tight that a break will lead to a dramatic fall. By coincidence, the chairman of the Center Party, Johan J. Jakobsen, celebrated his 50th birthday yesterday. From far and near, both geographically and politically, they came to greet the "Confirmand from Namdalen." As they came in the wake of the combined nonsocialist declaration, the speeches had both undertones and overtones of politics. Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland opened the ball by presenting a vase bearing the "A" [for Labor Party] monogram. The vase--obviously--was filled with red roses and an abundance of green.

Prime minister candidate Rolf Presthus presented him with a copy of the history of the Conservative Party, although the assembly placed greater weight on his emphasis that "a word from the birthday celebrant is a word, even if he is in jail." Kr.F's Kjell Magne Bondevik used the occasion to emphasize what the two middle parties have in common.

It was a relaxed party, but it also confirmed that a new situation has arisen in Norwegian politics.

Forde, like most of the others, is cautious about drawing broad conclusions. The exception is the Progressive Party's Carl I. Hagen, who with broad strokes claims that the three former governing parties are making fools of the voters. Thus he finds it remarkable that no time has been set for when they again wish to form a government.

Tactic

Tactician Hagen obviously knows very well that his expressing himself ironically strengthens the need for the three to agree. In that sense his attack is a positive contribution, which emphasizes that both prestige and credibility are invested in the continued negotiations.

Hagen is not alone in emphasizing that it remains to be seen if the expectations which have been created may be fulfilled. But there are few who doubt that a shift of power has come nearer. There are still people in the Labor Party and the press corps who brush aside the combined declaration as idle words. What is more interesting is the obvious satisfaction in the Conservative and Christian People's Parties, and the uncertainty on the part of the foremost people in the Labor Party.

Long Step

The nonsocialist agreement to conduct conversations along a more concrete track is a much greater step in the direction of a government shift in the spring. Even more important is that the three parties clearly emphasized that their common goal is to form a new nonsocialist government on a political foundation which the parties together can accept responsibility for.

The Conservative, Christian People's and Center Parties have simply come together on a strategy and formulation which as recently as three weeks ago would not have been possible to agree upon. It was most clearly emphasized at Tuesday's press conference by the Kr.F chairman Kjell Magne Bondevik. "We have always had a mandate to enter into concrete negotiations," he said. He indirectly confirmed that previously it was a problem that the Center Party leadership has not felt that they had a mandate to enter into result-oriented negotiations.

New Situation

Now there is unity about going to work to clarify the political foundation for a cooperative policy. At the same time it is proposed that the negotiators will ask their Stortings groups for the necessary powers. In other words an entirely new situation has been created. The pressure on the Center Party has produced results.

There are still many shoals in the sea. Commitments to a prompt government shift vary. Conservative Party chairman and prime minister candidate Rolf Presthus says that he expects to be prime minister during the spring, and he emphasized that both economic developments and the long term perspective on social development call for a government shift. Yesterday's 50-year-old Johan J. Jakobsen is speaking more often about "an eventual government shift."

But hardly anyone doubts that a deal is a deal. The nonbinding conversations were replaced by the concrete negotiations which they have agreed not to enter before they were sure of success. The process gained speed when Bondevik on behalf of Kr.F emphasized that there was an investment in getting the government situation clarified during the spring session.

The certainty that they are dealing with a government party which is more sure of itself than at any time since the EC fight is also a driving force in the nonsocialist effort to reach a declaration. The Labor Party congress made an impression on the majority opposition in the Storting. Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland's continuous emphasis that the three can take power at the same moment that they decide to do it has ever since last fall been difficult to live with.

Point of Departure

In the weeks to come the certainty that they cannot afford to fail one more time will increase the possibility of an agreement on a foundation for a government shift and a new three-party government policy. The concrete point of departure will be the government's revised national budget which gives a

unique opportunity to draw up the lines of direction for an alternative policy to bring the country's economy back on its feet again.

Down the road is the foundation for the Willoch government's long range program, which they are now together aiming to bring up to date in relation to the more bitter reality than what they were dealing with before the fall in the price of oil. In a way they are beginning again where they had to avoid when the Willoch government was in power.

The Labor Party's possibilities are limited because at this crossroads they do not have a national budget which will enable any horse trading of a little more here and a little less there.

Weak Link?

Now it is the main economic and political lines which will be drawn up, under the impression that a price increase which will pull the foundation out from under the economic growth on which the country depends. The weakest link in the nonsocialist strategy can quickly be seen to be the fast-working committee which begins its work at Easter by clarifying the assumptions.

Kristin Clement (Conservative), Dagfinn Hoybraten (Kr.F) and Steinar Ness (Center) are not political heavyweights. The appointment of the committee, however, also emphasizes that the party leaders themselves have control of, and therefore also responsibility for what happens next. Disagreements exist, but the three former government parties are very aware of what is now at risk.

9287

CSO:3639/34

PCE INTROSPECTION: ERRORS LED TO FACTIONALISM

Abandonment of Mass Movements

Madrid DIARIO 16 in Spanish 9 Apr 87 p 12

[Excerpts] On 9 April 1977, after the report of the Board of Overseers had been published, the interior minister, Rodolfo Martin Villa, announced the legalization of the Spanish Communist Party [PCE], which was registered with No 126, on page 156 of the first book of the Register of Political Associations. Ten years later, PCE, from which pro-Soviets and Carrillists departed after the serious crisis involving the renewal advocates, is not even a shadow of that party which came to light with a considerable impetus. Today, seven Communist leaders, some outside the party, recall that period, and give a self-criticism of the mistakes made during the transition.

Madrid--Ten years after 9 April 1977, the date of the Spanish Communist Party's legalization, leaders still in the organization and others who have left it to create new groups admit that the mistakes made by the party leaders during the transitional phase have led it to its current situation.

Nevertheless, this exercise in self-criticism is carried out from substantially different standpoints.

For example, Marcelino Camacho, secretary general of CCOO [Workers Commissions], and Simon Sanchez Montero, head of the PCE's international policy, think that the worst mistake made by the PCE leadership was to become overly involved in the elections and institutions, and to abandon the mass movements which the leaders had helped to create during the dictatorship.

Ignacio Gallego, secretary general of PCPE [Spanish Popular Communist Party], and Adolfo Pinedo, his counterpart in PTE-UC [Spanish Workers Party-Communist Unity], believe that the Communist crisis was due to the abandonment of the traditional ideological principles.

Finally, Ramon Tamames, chairman of the Progressive Federation, thinks that PCE did well to admit the failure of the historical Communism, and to take the step toward the formation of what is known as a new left.

Abandonment of the Masses

According to the CCOO secretary general and member of the PCE leadership, besides personal errors, there has been "an error which we probably all committed: the excessive institutionalization and the abandonment of the mass organizations." He concludes: "A democracy becomes devoid of essence if it confines itself to voting every 4 years, and shouting in Parliament once in awhile."

This idea is shared by the PCE secretary of international relations, Simon Sanchez Montero. According to this historical leader, the Communists paid for "their increasing loss of contact with the mass organizations that we helped to create during the dictatorship."

But neither does he forgive Santiago Carrillo for "the patrimonial sense that he had of the party," which led the latter to its most serious split.

In the view of Adolfo Pinedo, the reasons for the PCE crisis are different; although, in his judgment, they could be summarized as "the faltering of many Communist leaders faced with the force of attraction exercised by PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party]. This led to the crisis among the renewal advocates, who attempted to force the party toward Social Democratic positions."

The secretary general of the Spanish Workers Party thinks that the so-called renewal group attained its goal partially. He claims: "The new PCE leadership has admitted what to them is a historical failure of Communism, and have set forth toward something new, United Left, which has nothing to do with Communism."

Pinedo is the most pessimistic about the unification of the Communist families currently broken up into three groups. He remarks: "In the future, there will be two parties: one with a profile similar to what Euskadiko Ezkerra [Basque Left] is like; and another, a modern Communist Party, which is the one representing our design."

According to the leader of those known as pro-Soviets, Ignacio Gallego, the prospects for unity are considerably better than those predicted by Pinedo; perhaps because his rapprochement with PCE is constantly increasing.

Gallego is convinced that "the unity that existed in the Communist Party on that 9 April 10 years ago will be reestablished and consolidated in a single Communist group." Gallego's remarks presuppose a revealing statement of principles to the PCPE congress to be held at the end of this month.

Evolution of the Communist Vote

| Elections | Votes | Seats |
|------------------|-----------|-----------------------------------|
| 1977 legislative | 1,718,026 | 20 deputies |
| 1979 legislative | 1,940,236 | 23 deputies |
| 1979 municipal | | 3,608 council members, 252 mayors |
| 1982 legislative | 823,412 | 4 deputies |

| Elections | Votes | Seats |
|------------------|-----------|-----------------------------------|
| 1983 legislative | 1,293,565 | 2,495 council members, 158 mayors |
| 1986 legislative | 935,504 * | 7 deputies * |

* These data relate to the United Left coalition, in whose candidacy PCE joined.

Legalization Seen at Fault

Madrid DIARIO 16 in Spanish 9 Apr 87 p 2

[Editorial: "PCE, 10 Years Later']

[Text] On a day like today, 10 years ago, Spain received the extraordinary surprise of the Communist Party's legalization. It was Holy Saturday, a day of festivity and rest; the beaches were filled, and the factories and barracks, empty. Adolfo Suarez had taken all the precautions, to carry out this fundamental process of transition at a time when it could cause the least repercussions. The secrecy with which he made the maneuver was such that some of his ministers learned about it that same Saturday, but from television; and Santiago Carrillo, then the party's undisputed leader, was shocked in Cannes, where he was resting.

Ten years have elapsed, and the waters which were agitated with the authorization have become calm again. From that time on, Suarez earned the enmity of a part of the top military echelons, and the military coups which were attempted, and those which were simply planned, of which we have no knowledge, germinated in that decision. But today, that venture appears as one of the great successes of the transition.

Today, it can be proven that the democratic system emerged reinforced by the legalization of PCE. And it must be said that, ironically, the party most hurt by that decision, in the long run, was PCE itself. As democracy has become consolidated, PCE has become diminished. Today, it has only seven deputies, after having occupied 23 seats in the legislature which began in 1979. And it does not even have as its head any longer the historical Carrillo, who has been engaged in waging the war on his own from another new party, with an unknown future, called the Spanish Workers Party-Communist Unity.

PCE is in an overt state of crisis, divided into various groups, and lacking the strength that has always been presumed in it. Its principal leaders have made a self-criticism in DIARIO 16 today, and agree in rejecting the administration of the former leader, Carrillo. According to Marcelino Camacho and Simon Sanchez Montero, PCE "became overly institutionalized," and abandoned social pressure and mass mobilization. According to Adolfo Pinedo and Ignacio Gallego, PCE made the mistake of distancing itself from the traditional ideological principles. And Ramon Tamames thinks that it has been incapable of incorporating young people into its leadership structures.

It is obvious that PCE mollified its ideological baggage to become geared to the Spanish reality. Carrillo, on whom all the criticism is concentrated at present,

promised Suarez the acceptance of the two-colored flag and of the monarchy. That is where it all began. But there was no alternative. Spanish society had to admit the existence of a party which, as it had been told, represented the epitome of all evils, and PCE had to adapt to Spanish society and to the future design that was being constructed.

This unquestionably caused a distortion of PCE. The doctrine of Eurocommunism, which Carrillo coined against Moscow's antagonism, was nothing but a disguise for the traditional program of a Communist organization. What occurred later was that the disguise ended up importing too much, until it replaced the countenance that it was attempting to conceal. But this was better for everyone. It is frightening just to guess what would have happened if the Suarez-Carrillo agreement had not occurred, and, on a day like today 10 years ago, the UCD [Democratic Center Union] government had not legalized the Communists. A party which thrives on setbacks, which had been the only one to keep the flame of opposition to the Franco regime alive, would have made life physically impossible for the reduced democracy whose establishment would have been attempted without it. Today, the situation would not be as it is. PCE would possibly be a powerful, influential, effective party....in obscure clandestinity, faced with a weak system. Its legalization was essential. And it was a benefit for everyone, although PCE is apparently paying the consequences now.

2909

CSO: 3548/70

POLL RESULTS SHOW SUAREZ PREFERRED OVER AP'S MANCHA

Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 6 Apr 87 pp 18-21

[Article by Victor Marquez Reviriego]

[Excerpts] Despite his political capital and accumulated popularity, the Duke of Suarez appears to be disoriented and too lethargic to take on a new and decisive responsibility: leading all the forces of the center and the right that are wandering aimlessly and defenselessly on the national scene.

Some of the former group have sought refuge in the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) or similar parties. The latter are struggling to create a leader out of a number of candidates who, for one reason or another, have been discredited beforehand.

And in the case of Hernandez Mancha, they have also been discredited after the fact. Green as the greenest grass, with an ineffectual passion that serves no purpose other than to muss up his hair, full of good intentions but devoid of good ideas, the new leader of the right confirmed the worst fears of his followers and fulfilled the hopes of his opponents beyond measure when he spoke in the Cortes during the debate on the censure motion.

It is already clear, people appeared to be saying to each other: In the face of the socialist steamroller, now there is no one but Adolfo Suarez, the engineer of the transition and the gallant savior in the coup attempt of 23 February.

But as an American soap opera writer would say, Will the duke finally be able to shake off his Third World lethargy? Will he one day win the confidence, or overcome the mistrust, of the military, the bankers, and Washingtonians? Will he finally realize that the center is in the center and not on the left? Will he ultimately grasp the fact that the PSOE, the PC, and other leftist dalliances are forbidden fruit?

Few in history have ever had the opportunity the duke faces now, much less twice.

Two months ago now, the Spanish right seemed to be having a glorious time, facing a promising future. It was replacing its leader, founding father

Manuel Fraga, with a southern boy, a young sprout following in his father's footsteps and willing to take up his sword and conquer the world. At that February congress, a new generation (a generation which had not fought the war or even experienced the transition, a generation uncontaminated by the failed UCD whims of the past) was assuming command and preparing, finally, to win.

The captain was Antonio Hernandez Mancha, a young man whose stamp of rebellion was his disheveled hair. And his squire was a Toledan with an apt name: Arturo Garcia Tizon, who, "tizona" [the sword of El Cid] in hand, spoke of expanding the domain of the new Popular Alliance (AP), an almost holy alliance, all the way "to the very frontiers of the Socialist Party" . . .

The mass media, the man in the street (what used to be known as "the personal factor") were interested for a few days in the rebel image (the rumpled hair) and the self-assured pronouncements of the young southern captain of the right.

And that was how the spring began. After the congresses and the initial impacts came the polls. Between the AP congress and the spring there was a debate on the state of the nation. And there the young captain with the tousled hair was prevented from speaking by regulations. In the end, the only beneficiary of that debate, which will not go down in the annals of Parliament as a glorious example of parliamentarism, was an old captain whom they had tried to retire early: Adolfo Suarez.

And then the polls reflected what was happening in the streets. Those in the know say that when the first survey results reached the solid AP headquarters on Calle Genova in Madrid, the legitimate expansionist aspirations of the squire Tizon were dampened considerably. It's not that the Alliance has not reached "the very frontiers of the Socialist Party," in the words of his "lebensraum" declaration of February. The problem is, on those frontiers, and on the old Fraga borders of the Alliance, the old, renewed force of the Duke of Suarez was knocking at the door.

And there was very little time left before the precampaign and the campaign itself for the municipal, autonomous, and European elections. Very little time for the kind of primary that was anticipated--no one knows for sure whether the sovereign people, the man in the street ("the personal factor," shall we say) really looked forward to it--but Spanish politicians certainly were anxious for it. And all too frequently, these politicians appear to think that policies are for attaining power, not that one attains power in order to pursue a policy. And those polls were destroying the optimism that was concocted during that recent congress.

The party was not moving up in the polls. That was bad enough, but worse yet was the fact that the young captain from the south was overshadowed by the emerging Adolfo Suarez, who was reborn after the debate on the state of the nation.

It is said that the aggressive youths of the new right, the "light" right, tried several times to engineer a stroke of luck, an audacious move that would bring back the primacy they thought they had in February. And that was how

they went from audacity to foolhardiness and came up with the idea of the censure motion.

It wasn't such a bad idea.

The goal was to play the rules off against each other, to fight fire with fire. If the young Mancha had managed to win some popularity from the rostrum and paraphernalia of a fleeting congress, there could be nothing better—they thought—than to revive and augment that flagging popularity from the rostrum of Congress by engaging in antonomasia in that permanent congress, the Congress of Deputies.

They had everything they needed for the scheme: the man and the deputies. Certainly it was a censure motion doomed to defeat. But a defeat didn't have to be a failure at all. The motion could be a victory over the armies of the duke, who were no longer so meek and were always undaunted (let no one say of them that they are "impossible to discourage," lest someone take offense). It could also be a slap in the face of those arrogant Socialists, a rock thrown at their forehead which, although perhaps not as deadly as the one David hurled at Goliath, could upset them a bit. Mancha and his friends, with the persistence of a pesky fly, were prepared to give their rivals no peace.

And how were they doing?

The president and his government court were more concerned about their own men and the man in the street than about the AP. For the first time in Felipe's triumphant reign, the streets were filled with not just the man in the street himself (that silent individual who expresses his anonymous opinion in the surveys and every 4 years casts his vote), but also with a young, angry generation; an occasional disabled pacifist, his crutch armed with megatons, willing to smash the elegant urban holdings of the company run by Mr Solana (Don Luis); the workers of the left; the men and women in the white coats; and other more or less specific representatives of various segments of the population who took to the streets to show their displeasure. . .

And the duke remained silent.

What was he thinking? Those in the know think that the duke thinks silence is golden, and that time will work in his favor. Political life is like a tide, and the water that recedes will return. Six hours of low tide and 6 hours of high tide. Or 6 years, a year being an hour in political terms. The popular tide for Adolfo Suarez began to ebb in 1980, precisely the time a censure motion was introduced by the Socialist Party. And 6 years later, 6 political hours later, the water of the popular tide is flowing back to the Suarez beach, which until recently was desolate.

In two national surveys recently commissioned by this magazine (whose results appear in separate boxes), the direction of this tide is reflected as clear as day. Shortly before the debate on the censure motion, the number of people planning to vote for the Popular Alliance was even below that recorded on the eve of the general elections of June 1986: less than 9 percent of Spaniards expressly and directly stated their intention of voting for AP again if

general elections happened to be held at that very moment. This--and the results of similar polls commissioned by AP--was disturbing. And some began to think that there had been too much talk about Fraga's roof, and now it turned out that what was caving in was the ground. Fraga undoubtedly had a roof; but he also was standing on firm ground, a foundation that was capable of standing up even to his clumping and stomping, because Don Manuel was always Don Manuel, even if he was a little too Don Manuel sometimes.

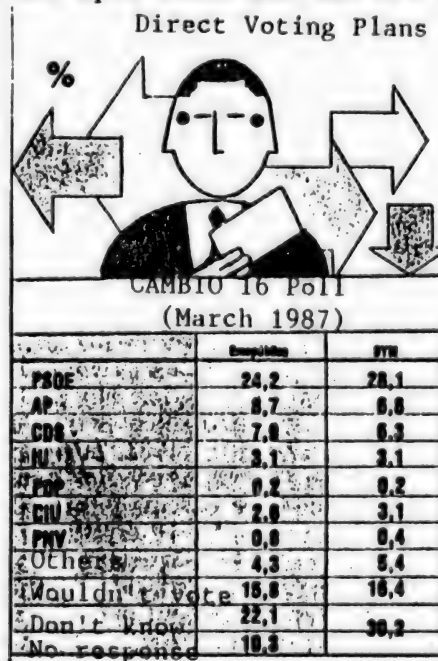
And there was worse news.

Worse for AP, that is. The polls commissioned by this magazine made it clear that as AP fell, Adolfo Suarez rose. The duke's Democratic and Social Center (CDS) was just a few tenths of a point below an AP in which the vacuum left by Fraga's immense humanity seemed impossible to fill by the slight figure of the southern captain. And what was worse (for the Alliance, of course) was that according to the polls (the two commissioned by this magazine), between 6 and 10 percent of the people who had voted for the Popular Alliance in 1986 now stated their intention of voting for the CDS.

In short, what these surveys indicate, or indicated, is that Adolfo Suarez was moving up from the 9 percent he had obtained on 22 June 1986 to more than 14 percent. And here, the experts say, the important thing is not so much the figure as the trend. The tide.

And Adolfo Suarez seems to have begun to reaping the benefits of past positions. The video of 23 February was not produced in vain. Due to one of those paradoxes of history, it turns out that a man who began his astute ascent under the Franco regime, thanks to his position as director general of television (this is not the place to discuss it, but there the young man from Cebreros was already showing the incredible extent of his cleverness) was being canonized as a martyr of the rule of law and constitutional legitimacy (aside from his personal courage, which even his worst enemy would acknowledge), thanks also to some television images.

And the young Mancha must be aware of some of that, if not all. Last Friday morning, on the second and final day of the debate on the censure motion, he was breathing through the open wound the CDS had inflicted in his left flank.



The surveys commissioned by this magazine were conducted by two different institutes, Emopublica and DYM. They show how Spaniards would vote if there were general elections this March.

The percentages in this table correspond to the direct response of those interviewed, with respect to the political party for which they would vote. Approximately a third of the respondents did not know for sure for whom they would vote.

As can be seen, in the spontaneous responses, the CDS is less than a point away from AP, in both the DYM and Emopublica studies.

The results obtained by the two institutes give the Christian Democrats a very poor showing (0.2 percent), and if these figures do not pick up, Alzaga's party, the People's Democratic Party (PDP), will collapse.

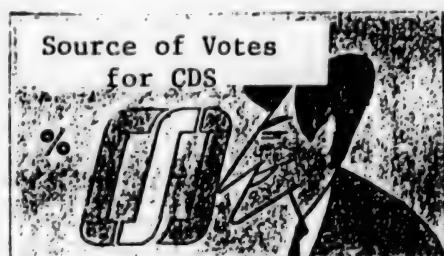
| Final Voting Plans with Assignment of Undecided Respondents | | | |
|--|------------|------|------|
| % | | | |
| CAMBIO 16 pol (March 1987) | | | |
| Results 6/22/86 | Emopublica | DYM | |
| PSOE | 44.1 | 37.8 | 41.8 |
| AP (CP) | 26.0 | 25.7 | 20.2 |
| CDS | 9.2 | 14.3 | 13.8 |
| IU | 4.8 | 6.3 | 8.3 |
| CIU | 5.0 | 5.3 | 5.8 |
| PNV | 1.5 | 1.5 | 1.2 |
| Others | 9.8 | 9.1 | 11.9 |

This table shows the final voting plans. The respondents who in the previous table answered "don't know" or "no response" are assigned to one or another party by the two institutes. Each survey company uses its own system for assigning votes, using the referential technique it deems most suitable.

The final result is that the percentages obtained on the base of voters can be compared either with the verdict at the polls (22 June 1986) or with what might happen if elections were held right now.

In both surveys, the CDS appears to be growing strongly, with 14 percent of the votes instead of the 9 percent attained in the last elections. In Emopublica's view, AP is staying the same, and it is the PSOE that has lost ground in recent weeks. On the other hand, DYM feels that the Socialists are holding their own and the Alliance has fallen off.

The rest of the most important parties are almost stationary. Only United Left posted a slight gain, according to both surveys.



| Party | Jun. 86 | Emopublica | DYM |
|----------------|---------|------------|-------|
| PSOE | | 16.8 | 24.0 |
| AP (CP) | | 7.4 | 13.3 |
| CDS | | 54.7 | 46.7 |
| No vote | | 10.7 | 10.7 |
| Others | | 10.4 | 5.3 |
| Total CDS | | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Overall change | | 14.3 | 13.8 |

(1) On voter base, undecideds assigned

Adolfo Suarez' CDS is the party that has gained the most potential voters in the last few months. Attraction to the Suarists has grown spectacularly: The number of those planning to vote for the CDS grew by more than 50 percent compared to the results of the last elections.

This table attempts to break down the origin of the additional votes Adolfo Suarez would now receive. Out of every 100 voters who might now support the CDS, 17 (according to Emopublica) or 24 (according to DYM) would be former Socialist supporters. And 7 or 13, depending on which survey is used, would come from the ranks of the Popular Alliance.

Both polls agree on the fundamental trends that explain the CDS' growth. These trends can be summed up as follows: Suarez' political party has increased the number of potential votes it would get by scraping together support from the left and the right, but it is luring away more former Socialist voters than Alliance supporters. In addition, new voters are swelling the ranks of CDS constituents.

Technical Card

Survey: Conducted by the DYM Institute exclusively for CAMBIO 16. Universe: Individuals over the age of 18, residing on the Peninsula. Sample: 1,200 home interviews. Field work: 16 to 20 March 1987.

Survey: Conducted by the Emopublica Institute exclusively for CAMBIO 16. Universe: Individuals over the age of 18, residing on the Peninsula and in the Balearic Isles. Sample: 1,200 street interviews. Field work: 9 to 13 March 1987.

8926

CSO: 3548/62

POLL SHOWS GONZALEZ LOSING POPULARITY, LEADING MANCHA

Madrid EPOCA in Spanish 6 Apr 87 pp 14-16

[Article by Miguel Platon]

[Text] Felipe Gonzalez was the clear winner in the debate on the censure motion, according to a Gallup poll conducted exclusively for EPOCA. Antonio Hernandez Mancha, moreover, suffered an erosion in the opinion the electorate has of him as president of the Popular Alliance (AP). The only consolation for this setback is the fact that the president of the government has also lost support.

The result of the confrontation was 7 to 3 in favor of Felipe Gonzalez. To be more precise, 68.7 percent of those interviewed who had followed the debate, wholly or in part, and who expressed an opinion, felt that the president of the government had come out on top. On the other hand, 31.3 percent leaned toward Hernandez Mancha.

The poll was conducted the afternoon of Friday the 27th and Saturday the 28th of March, that is, during the 24 hours following the end of the debate. A real sample of 930 Spaniards over the age of 18 were contacted by telephone, and 540 of them had followed the debate. Only the latter were asked the questions in the survey.

The use of the telephone resulted in a real sample that had a higher proportion of Popular Coalition (CP) voters than actually exists in the electorate. And eliminating those who had not really followed the debate skewed the sample even more, because it became apparent that CP voters were much more interested in the debate than others.

All things considered, the results were very favorable to Gonzalez. Only among CP voters was there a majority opinion that their leader was the victor, although 19.4 percent of those voters also awarded the victory to the Socialist president. This is a much higher percentage than the 8.9 percent of Socialist voters who leaned toward Mancha. Among the voters of the Democratic and Social Center (CDS), 77.8 percent chose Felipe Gonzalez and 22.2 percent opted for the AP president.

Mancha has his greatest support among women (34.8 percent), middle-aged citizens (38.9), and his own constituency. Gonzalez, on the other hand, captured the votes of men (71.8 percent), youths (76.5 percent), and the voters of the left (100 percent in the case of United Left).

Both leaders lost an equal amount of public support. Before the debate, 42.2 percent of those polled had a favorable or very favorable opinion of Antonio Hernandez Mancha. Afterwards, that percentage fell to 38.4 percent, while the poor and very poor opinions rose from 20.5 to 32.8 percent.

In the case of Felipe Gonzalez, the favorable and very favorable opinions declined from 42.7 to 37.7 percent, while the poor and very poor climbed from 23.9 to 31.7 percent.

The overall outcome, therefore, has been a clear advantage for the current government, along with a considerable erosion in the credibility of both the government and the opposition among the electorate. Despite the social protests of recent weeks, Mancha did not manage to put Gonzalez on the ropes, and the candidate himself suffered a personal decline. The censure motion yielded no benefit to those who proposed it.

Technical Card

Theoretical sample: 800 interviews

Real sample: 930 interviews

Universe: Population 18 years and older

Sample environment: Peninsula and Balearic Isles

Sample Error: For a margin of reliability of 95 percent, plus or minus 3.5 percent

Form of interview: Telephone interview

Methodology: Age and sex quotas, random selection of telephone numbers for interviews

Dates of field work: 27 to 28 March 1987

| | Response | Sex | | Age | | | Party Voted For | | | | | | | Don't know No. respons. | Didn't vote /blank |
|---|----------|------|--------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|------|------|----------|--------|------|------|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| | | Male | Female | Aged 18-34 | Aged 35-49 | Over 50 yrs. | PSOE | CP | CDS | PCE & IU | Others | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 930* | 441 | 489 | 327 | 240 | 363 | 234 | 168 | 45 | 33 | 84 | 192 | 177 | | |
| 1. Did you follow the debate, wholly or in part? | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 58,1 | 66,0 | 50,9 | 55,0 | 61,3 | 58,7 | 60,3 | 78,6 | 60,0 | 45,5 | 78,6 | 42,2 | 44,1 | | |
| No | 41,9 | 34,0 | 49,1 | 45,0 | 38,8 | 41,3 | 39,7 | 21,4 | 40,0 | 54,5 | 21,4 | 57,8 | 55,9 | | |
| | 100,0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. What was your opinion of the current AP president before the debate? | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very favorable | 9,4 | 7,2 | 12,0 | 3,3 | 12,2 | 12,7 | 2,1 | 22,7 | 22,2 | 0,0 | 4,5 | 11,1 | 0,0 | | |
| Favorable | 32,8 | 30,9 | 34,9 | 36,7 | 32,7 | 29,6 | 19,1 | 59,1 | 33,3 | 20,0 | 22,7 | 25,9 | 30,8 | | |
| Fair | 33,9 | 33,0 | 34,9 | 36,7 | 36,7 | 29,6 | 38,3 | 15,9 | 44,4 | 60,0 | 22,7 | 37,0 | 53,8 | | |
| Poor | 19,4 | 22,7 | 15,7 | 20,0 | 14,3 | 22,5 | 36,2 | 2,3 | 0,0 | 20,0 | 45,5 | 11,1 | 11,5 | | |
| Very poor | 1,1 | 1,0 | 1,2 | 0,0 | 2,0 | 1,4 | 2,1 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 3,7 | 0,0 | | |
| DK/NR | 3,3 | 5,2 | 1,2 | 3,3 | 2,0 | 4,2 | 2,1 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 4,5 | 11,1 | 3,8 | | |
| | 100,0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. And what is your opinion now? | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very favorable | 12,8 | 11,3 | 14,5 | 5,0 | 18,4 | 15,5 | 2,1 | 31,8 | 11,1 | 0,0 | 9,1 | 14,8 | 3,8 | | |
| Favorable | 25,6 | 24,7 | 26,5 | 30,0 | 24,5 | 22,5 | 14,9 | 52,3 | 22,2 | 0,0 | 9,1 | 22,2 | 23,1 | | |
| Fair | 27,8 | 27,8 | 27,7 | 31,7 | 24,5 | 26,8 | 27,7 | 13,6 | 33,3 | 60,0 | 18,2 | 37,0 | 42,3 | | |
| Poor | 27,8 | 27,8 | 27,7 | 23,3 | 28,6 | 31,0 | 40,4 | 2,3 | 33,3 | 40,0 | 59,1 | 18,5 | 26,9 | | |
| Very poor | 5,0 | 7,2 | 2,4 | 8,3 | 4,1 | 2,8 | 14,9 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 3,7 | 3,8 | | |
| DK/NR | 1,1 | 1,0 | 1,2 | 1,7 | 0,0 | 1,4 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 4,5 | 3,7 | 0,0 | | |
| | 100,0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4. What was your opinion of Pres. Felipe Gonzalez before the debate? | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very favorable | 4,4 | 3,1 | 6,0 | 1,7 | 6,1 | 5,6 | 14,9 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 4,5 | 0,0 | 0,0 | | |
| Favorable | 38,3 | 39,2 | 37,3 | 41,7 | 34,7 | 38,0 | 53,2 | 22,7 | 11,1 | 40,0 | 18,2 | 55,6 | 46,2 | | |
| Fair | 33,3 | 32,0 | 34,9 | 35,0 | 32,7 | 32,4 | 25,5 | 43,2 | 77,8 | 20,0 | 22,7 | 22,2 | 38,5 | | |
| Poor | 21,7 | 22,7 | 20,5 | 20,0 | 20,4 | 23,9 | 4,3 | 31,8 | 11,1 | 20,0 | 50,0 | 22,2 | 15,4 | | |
| Very poor | 2,2 | 3,1 | 1,2 | 1,7 | 6,1 | ~0,0 | 2,1 | 2,3 | 0,0 | 20,0 | 4,5 | 0,0 | 0,0 | | |
| | 100,0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5. And now what is your opinion? | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very favorable | 4,4 | 2,1 | 7,2 | 3,3 | 4,1 | 5,6 | 12,8 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 4,5 | 0,0 | 3,8 | | |
| Favorable | 33,3 | 36,1 | 30,1 | 33,3 | 34,7 | 32,4 | 53,2 | 6,8 | 33,3 | 20,0 | 22,7 | 51,9 | 34,6 | | |
| Fair | 28,9 | 25,8 | 32,5 | 35,0 | 24,5 | 26,8 | 23,4 | 38,6 | 55,6 | 40,0 | 13,6 | 14,8 | 38,5 | | |
| Poor | 26,1 | 28,9 | 22,9 | 18,3 | 24,5 | 33,8 | 8,5 | 45,5 | 0,0 | 20,0 | 45,5 | 25,9 | 19,2 | | |
| Very poor | 5,6 | 6,2 | 4,8 | 8,3 | 10,2 | 0,0 | 2,1 | 4,5 | 11,1 | 20,0 | 13,6 | 3,7 | 3,8 | | |
| DK/NR | 1,7 | 1,0 | 2,4 | 1,7 | 2,0 | 1,4 | 0,0 | 4,5 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 3,7 | 0,0 | | |
| | 100,0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6. Which man won, in your opinion? | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hernández Mancha | 31,3 | 28,2 | 34,8 | 23,5 | 38,9 | 33,3 | 8,9 | 80,6 | 22,2 | 0,0 | 7,7 | 26,3 | 21,1 | | |
| Felipe González | 68,7 | 71,8 | 65,2 | 76,5 | 61,1 | 66,7 | 91,1 | 19,4 | 77,8 | 100,0 | 92,3 | 73,7 | 78,9 | | |

*Of the 930 people who responded to the survey, 540 had followed the debate on radio or television; the percentages for questions 2, 3, 4, and 5 were based on those 540 responses. Question 6 elicited 432 responses.

8926

CSO: 3548/62

KOIVISTO CRITICIZED FOR OVERACTIVE ROLE IN PARTIES' TALKS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 11 Apr 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Koivisto"]

[Text] Koivisto's handling of the government question is attracting attention, even sensation. The Finnish president has intervened following the March election in a way that does not agree with his statement of the parties' domestic political role. It also goes against the opinions of many that he himself should act in a more temperate way over the parties than his predecessor Kekkonen.

It seems clear that Koivisto will not play Center Party leader Paavo Vayrynen's game. The president has characteristically obscurely questioned Vayrynen's objective, a broad coalition of Conservative-Center-Social Democrat Parties and primarily he has allowed his investigator Esko Rekola to punctuate the alternative.

Now Koivisto is cavalierly allowing the presidential candidate of the Right, Harri Holkeri to test the conditions for a "red-black" coalition between the election-winning Conservative Party and the losing Social Democrats. The result at the end will be a purely nonsocialist government, but the president has shown that he is largely part of the objective.

9287

CSO:3650/106

TWO POLLS AGREE IN FINDING GREENS OVER FOUR PERCENT THRESHOLD

SIFO: Greens at 4.5 Percent

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 30 Mar 87 p 12

[Article by Anita Sjoblom: "SIFO Shows a Stable Situation Between the Blocs: Greens Over Four Percent"; first paragraph is DAGENS NYHETER introduction]

[Text] The environmental party The Greens is now over the threshold of four percent for entering the Riksdag according to the latest opinion poll.

"Environmental questions have become of more current interest, and the interest of the other parties in the environment legitimizes us," said Birger Schlaug.

The opinion poll conducted by SIFO [Swedish Institute of Public Opinion Research] and SVENSKA DAGBLADET showed that the environmental party The Greens continues to advance, and that the situation between the socialist and the nonsocialist blocs remains unchanged.

Rose Quickly

The Greens have risen quickly on the voters barometer since SIFO in January, for the first time, let the party have its own ballot in the polls. The party is now backed by 4.5 percent of the voters, compared with 3.6 in the February poll.

For the other parties the March figures were the following (with the February figures in parens):

Conservative 18.5 (18.1), Liberal 17.1 (17.6), Center 10.8 (10.6) of which the Christian Democrats 1.4 (1.2), Social Democrat 45.3 (45.1), Communist Left 3.6 (4.5) and other parties 0.2 (0.2).

That gives 48.9 percent for the Social Democrats and Communist Left compared with 46.3 percent for the three nonsocialist parties. The Greens could therefore decide the election of the prime minister. The low figure for the Communist Left Party, however, makes the government question very uncertain.

Blank Ballots

The Greens are believed to have taken most of their votes from blank ballots, and possibly took some from the Communist Left.

A total of 1,949 persons answered the question about which party they thought was best. There were 906 home visits and 953 telephone interviews.

Risky Venture

"I am not surprised," said the Green's spokesman Birger Schlaug about the poll figures. "It is due to three things. In the first place environmental questions are of more current interest. People have been in the woods digging wild flowers, and have seen that the pollution clings to the flowers all the way to the flower pots. In the second place the other parties are talking more about environmental questions now, and thus acknowledging that we are right. And people naturally prefer originality to poor copies. In the third place we have come out with an economic program wherein everything starts with the environment."

Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson (SDP) is critical in his comments on SIFO's latest poll.

"I do not believe in small parties in the Riksdag which can cause risky undertakings," he told TIDNINGARNAS TELEGRAMBYRA. "All international experience shows that small parties in the Parliament can lead to depriving the government of vigor."

Ingvar Carlsson would like to see the Greens remain outside the Riksdag.

"It is a single-issue party, and I have a hard time understanding parties which do not take an ideological stand on whether they prefer a conservative or a social democrat prime minister," he said.

"Ingvar Carlsson is insolent," said Birger Schlaug. "Does Ingvar Carlsson think that all politics must be conducted in bloc form forever? Then he is really going backwards. In the environmental party we are still waiting for an answer as to whether he will debate us with the Social Democrats choosing the subject of the debate."

Could Hold Power Balance

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 30 Mar 87 p 2

[Editorial: "The Environmental Party's Chance"]

[Text] Is Swedish politics confronting a change of historic proportions?

If the March SIFO poll results were the actual election figures, an entirely new political situation would arise. There would be no socialist majority, and no nonsocialist majority either. How the question of government would then be handled, nobody knows today.

It is the small parties which create the new uncertainty. Now that the Christian Democrats have again become a totally independent party, the nonsocialists will find it difficult to have a majority. The environmental party can be expected to surpass the four percent threshold for entry into the Riksdag, and become the weighing master. The environmental party can be expected to take many young voters from the Social Democrats and the Communist Left Party. The Communist Left can therefore face a real threat of being excluded from the Riksdag.

Now it is obviously wise to hold this fantasy in check. On election day the established pattern could once again prevail. But the environmental party has a chance to break it. Even for the environmental party the threshold can be a "friendly four percent," if the party continues to do well in the opinion polls.

As stable as the Swedish party pattern has been, the possibility exists that the new party will attract the interest of the media. This can further increase the party's chances. Members of the Riksdag will not have reason to complain about attention.

How this last factor will operate is not clear, however. So far many have expressed sympathy for the environmental party without knowing much about it except for the name. Now a closer examination is expected. It must also include important questions beyond the environment, such as the party's competence and leadership. Can the environmental party stand being under a magnifying glass?

DN/IMU: SDP Drops Again

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 5 Apr 87 p 12

[Article by Dick Ljungberg: "S Declines, Greens Gain Marginally"; first paragraph is DAGENS NYHETER introduction]

[Text] The Social Democrats declined a little for the fifth time in a row, while the environmental party The Greens succeeded, also for the fifth time, in crossing the four percent threshold to the Riksdag--this time with a broad margin.

This was shown by the March DN/IMU [DAGENS NYHETER/Institute for Market Research] poll. The poll included 922 persons who were interviewed in their homes during the period 2-25 March.

All the changes since the previous poll at the beginning of February lie within the margin of error. Since February all the parties except the Conservatives have supported a trade boycott of South Africa. Furthermore there has been a steady running to the Riksdag's Constitutional Committee by cabinet ministers and officials being questioned about weapon smuggling and the Palme investigation. Social Democrat plans to close two nuclear power plants 1993-1996 have become known.

March results, with February figures in parens: Social Democrats 42.5 (-0.5), Conservatives 17.0 (+ - 0), Center 10.5 (-1.0), Liberal 17.5 (+0.5), Communist Left 5.0 (+0.5), Christian Democrat 0.5 (-0.5), Greens 6.0 (+0.5). Other parties had 1.0 percent (+0.5), while the "don't knows" were 4.5 percent, an increase of one-half.

Weighing Master

This means that the Social Democrats and the Communist Left are still the largest bloc with an unchanged 47.5 percent, while the nonsocialists, including the Christian Democrats, have 45.5 percent, a decline of 1.0. If the IMU figures had been the election results of 1988 there would be a weighing master roll in the Riksdag, but IMU only shows the party sympathies in March of 1987.

New Decline

Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson has proved in several IMU polls to be the party leader who has the most confidence of the voters. Even a clear majority of nonsocialist sympathizers favor him. But his party loses a little in poll after poll, now for the fifth time in a row.

The declines can hardly any longer be said to be a natural adjustment following the extremely high IMU figures the party received following Olof Palme's murder over a year ago. Compare the 42.5 percent with the election result of September 1985 which was 44.7 percent. The major party can make up two percent in an election race.

The struggle between the Conservatives and the Liberals over which will be the largest opposition party continues. In February both parties had 17 percent, but now Bengt Westerberg has taken a small lead of 0.5 percent over his antagonist Carl Bildt.

Westerberg

Westerberg has therefore succeeded in establishing his party over the 14.2 percent election result, and now stands out as Ingvar Carlsson's main challenger for the prime minister post. Carl Bildt is still having difficulty in getting the Conservatives moving. With 17.0 percent they are well below the election result of 21.3 percent. And that election was a big disappointment to the Conservatives.

Some effects of the shift of party leaders in the Center Party were felt also. In his first poll in February Olof Johansson certainly went up by 1.5 percent, but now he has gone down again by 1.0 percent. That means that the Center Party is still plodding along at about 10 percent since the election, when the party received 10.1 percent.

Seven members of the Center Party now sit in the Riksdag on Christian Democrat seats. In the election the Christian Democrats received 2.3 percent, but this has now shrunk to 0.5 percent. After the divorce from the Center Party it is

therefore seen as a vital objective for Alf Svensson to remain in the Riksdag, even after the 1988 election.

The Communist Left Party has gone up one-half percent in two polls, and is now 5.0 compared with 5.4 in the election.

| | Voter Opinion | | | Long term trend | |
|----------------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|
| | March 1987 | Feb 1987 | Nov 1986 | March 1984 | March 1987 |
| Number of interviews | 922 | 932 | 920 | 862 | |
| Percent of support: | | | | | |
| Social Democrat | 42.5 | 43.0 | 43.5 | 42.0 | 44.4 |
| Conservative | 17.0 | 17.0 | 18.5 | 26.0 | 17.7 |
| Center | 10.5 | 11.5 | 10.0 | 15.0 | 10.6 |
| Liberal | 17.5 | 17.0 | 17.5 | 5.5 | 17.6 |
| Communist Left | 5.0 | 4.5 | 4.0 | 4.5 | 4.1 |
| Christian Democrat | 0.5 | 1.0 | 1.5 | 2.0 | 1.1 |
| The Greens | 6.0 | 5.5 | 4.5 | 3.5 | 4.2 |
| Others | 1.0 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 1.5 | |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Don't know 4.5 4.0 3.5 3.5

Interviews were conducted during the period 2-25 March 1987.

Political opinion is stable. All changes between this and previous polls lie within the margin of error. For certain parties, however, we can note trends of change. The Social Democrat share of voters has declined for the fifth time in a row, while The Greens are holding at over 4 percent, also for the fifth time in a row.

Changes between two consecutive polls should be interpreted with extreme care if they are not considered to be statistically significant. Instead one should note trends over the three latest polls, or the difference from the long term trend.

The statistical margin of error for an individual poll is Social Democrats about 3 percent, Liberals and Conservatives about 2.5 percent, Center about 1.9 percent, and for other parties about 0.7-1.5 percent.

The long term trend is calculated as a gliding average over the last 7 polls.

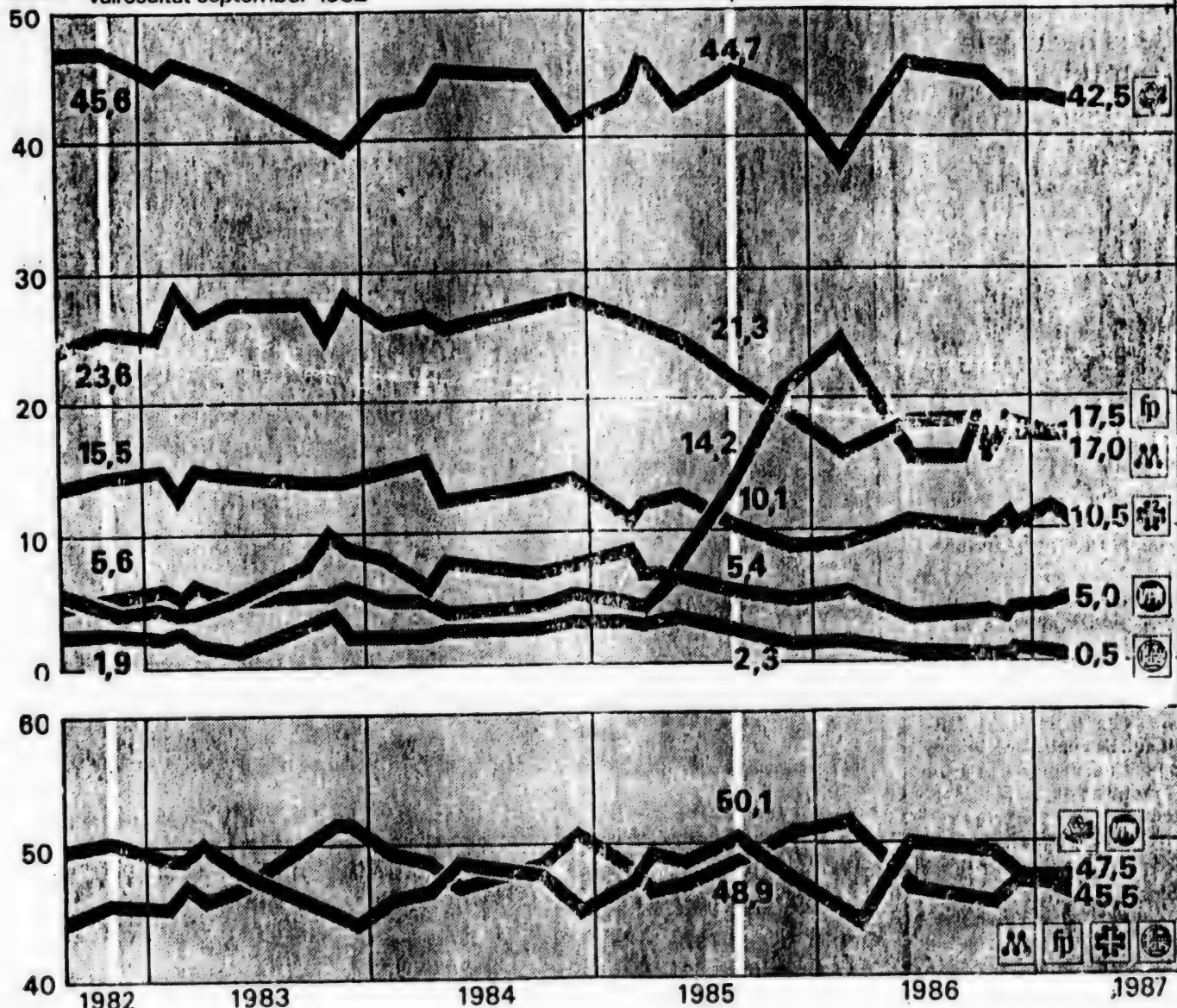
The polls were taken within national representative probability selections of Swedish citizens 18-74. The interviews were made by home visits. The question asked was, "Which party do you think is best?" The choice was expressed with "ballots" and "ballot envelopes."

Election result September 1982

Election result September 1985

ocent Valresultat september 1982

Valresultat september 1985



Greens Must Choose Sides

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 5 Apr 87 p 2

[Commentary by Sven Svensson: "The Greens Must Choose Sides"]

[Text] The environmental party The Greens is being forced to take sides quickly between the two political blocs if they are coming into the Riksdag in the 1988 election. It is unrealistic to believe that with at least 13-14 seats, which their 4 percent threshold indicates, they will be able to conduct their pressure politics this way and that without the final result being new elections.

The voter barometer is not the same as an election result, especially not for the environmental party, as experience from several countries indicates. Many of the voters who consider the environmental party the best party are protesting generally against community development and the established parties, and the voting tendencies are not so great.

When The Greens now get 6 percent in IMU and 4.5 percent in SIFO a week ago, it must still be confirmed that in any case in this between-elections period there is an opinion favoring the environmental party which cannot be neglected.

All elections to the unicameral Riksdag involve the question of government, which has intensified bloc politics. God bless the party which does not place its hand on the bible and swear for bloc politics.

The environmental party now says it wants to be the weighing master between the blocs, somewhere in municipal politics.

A conceivable election result in 1988 is that both political blocs will be equally strong in the Riksdag, with the environmental party as weighing master.

What is happening?

"I do not believe in small parties in the Riksdag which can create a dangerous parliamentary situation," commented Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson on last Sunday's SIFO figures. "All international experience shows that small parties in parliament can lead to no government being able to function."

Still it is only a matter of time before there is a test of strength between the political blocs, because of competition between the three nonsocialist parties over voter approval, among other things. Then the environmental party will also be forced to choose sides in politics.

A decision can be forced either in a vote on an important political issue in which the blocs close ranks against each other, or by a confidence vote in the Riksdag which can be forced by a minority.

In such a situation it is inevitable to vote with or against the government, with or against the nonsocialist bloc. Unused votes are the same as voting with the government. There is no turning back for the environmental party.

New elections are the logical conclusion if the Social Democrats lose an issue or a vote of confidence. For the environmental party that would not be a triumphant election campaign.

The attacks from the Social Democrats are becoming innumerable, and the nonsocialist parties are going to warn the voters not to vote for anything so bloc-politically unreliable as the environmental party.

Another conceivable election result is that the Social Democrats will do so poorly that public opinion will not want them to hold onto government power, but the nonsocialist parties still do not have their own Riksdag majority.

In that situation the Riksdag must elect a new prime minister. He who does not have a majority of the Riksdag members against him (at least 175) is elected prime minister.

The prime minister election means that the environmental party in a change of government is immediately forced to choose between the blocs in Swedish politics regardless of what statements were made in the election campaign.

The alternatives are to vote no for the proposed nonsocialist prime minister candidate together with the socialist bloc, or to admit the proposed nonsocialist prime minister candidate by abstaining or voting yes on the speaker's proposal.

Some moderation of inconsistency must take place, even in a new political party in the Riksdag. To first force the government of Ingvar Carlsson to resign, and then defeat the nonsocialist prime minister candidate by voting no along with the socialist bloc would be too much.

If the environmental party The Greens persists in that inconsistency developments will move quickly toward a new election. Since four prime minister elections have failed, the result is automatically a new election, according to government form.

Even in such a situation the environmental party would have a tough election campaign.

It is not an axiom that in such a case they would clear the four percent threshold in two elections close together. The Social Democrat steam roller would be driving ahead full speed.

As both examples show, the environmental party's pressure policies between the two political blocks lacks credibility. As long as Swedish Social Democrats continue to gain significantly more than 40 percent of the votes, bloc politics will remain, and the environmental party will be forced to choose sides.

Paper Comments on IMU/DN Poll

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 5 Apr 87 p 2

[Editorial: "IMU Stable"]

[Text] Sometimes stability is just as interesting as change. That is how it is with IMU's latest poll of party support.

The Social Democrats remain at a level below below their election result of 1985, despite the improvement in the economy and that the Swedish people during the past six months have enjoyed a buying spree the likes of which have not been seen in over a decade.

The Conservatives remain at the lower support figure established after Carl Bildts honeymoon as new party leader. Shoulder to shoulder the Conservatives and the Liberals fight for the position as the largest nonsocialist party in the current polls. That competition does not bode well for effective cooperation on a government alternative.

The Center Party is striving with obvious energy under its party chairman, but the voters do not seem to be noticing especially.

And then we have the newly arrived environmental party, which for the fifth time in a row has reached a support figure over 4 percent, which is needed in an election to enter the Riksdag.

What should one think of the environmental party's possibilities when it really matters? With knowledge of the unusual stability in Swedish politics is it normally wise to disregard such comets as temporary phenomena in politics? In spite of everything it is not obligatory to complement the environmental party when IMU or SIFO comes and asks, because one does not feel sure in the choice between the established alternatives, or sees a chance to make a little mark for the environment. With the concentration of the election campaign on the question of government, and the seriousness of election day, there should be a return to the old well-known parties.

For reasons which we developed earlier, however, one should not say "never" on the question of the environmental party's chances in the Riksdag in 1988. And already the series of serious polls in recent months is having political consequences. The environmental party must be examined more closely. The other parties are exhorted to do more concrete good for the environment. And they are all asked how they will handle the new Green factor in Swedish politics.

9287

CSO:3650/105

VPK TO STRESS ECOLOGICAL THEMES IN NEW PARTY PROGRAM

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 24 Mar 87 p 21

[Article from TIDNINGARNAS TELEGRAMBYRA: "VPK Future Program Says Sweden Is an Ecology Country"; first paragraph is TT introduction]

[Text] Economy and ecology are two aspects of one and the same cycle. A modern industrial society should know very well how use natural resources without consuming nature.

That was the message of the Communist Left Party [VPK] in an economic-political report with the slogan: "Make Sweden an Eco Country."

The report, which was presented on Monday, is being circulated for comment having been put together for the party congress in May.

"We want to show that we are a young party despite our nearly 70 years in being. The ecology crisis demands a new way of thinking," said MP Jorn Svensson at a press conference.

VPK wants to create a new structure for community transportation, with investment in railroads, ships and public transportation.

Research in methanol and other fuels should continue. In combination with catalytic cleansing of exhaust gas, auto emissions should be dramatically reduced. Such an investment should be made as a first step toward an entirely harmless fuel.

Sweden must protect its national independence. It is important that occupational skills be retained in the entire production chain, said VPK.

VPK wants to give the public sector a spearhead role. "To a certain extent there is an oversized and ineffective bureaucracy. Cut down the bureaucracy and invest the money in conservation."

9287

CSO:3650/106

CENTER PARTY, CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS END ELECTORAL ALLIANCE

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 9 Apr 87 p 12

[Article by Magdalena Ribbing: "Center and Christian Democrats Come to an End"; first paragraph is DAGENS NYHETER introduction]

[Text] Today the executive committee of the Center Party decided to advise the party against continuing the electoral alliance with the Christian Democratic Party (KDS).

The Center Party's executive committee met on Thursday--and continues today, Friday--to discuss party policies from different viewpoints. What the executive committee is going to say on Friday is that cooperation with KDS will end, even though Olof Johansson will not formally anticipate the committee's discussions by commenting on the decision the day before, or the statement which will be issued.

KDS has already announced that it would not continue the electoral alliance with the Center--and thereby somewhat anticipated Center's decision.

The aim of the cooperation was to strengthen the middle in Swedish politics, said Olof Johansson, but that did not happen.

"We all needed more time to anchor the decision. It was understood differently by different groups."

Criticism by the Social Democrats that the Center Party and KDS, through this cooperation, which did not unite the parties, circumvented the constitution, was again rejected by Olof Johansson who said that part of the failure was due to this often-repeated criticism.

KDS leader Alf Svensson was hardly seen at the meeting of the Center group in the Riksdag since he announced that there would be no further cooperation before the next election.

"In the first place it is important to stand on one's own feet," said Olof Johansson. "But this period has taught us another lesson about cooperation between parties."

Within the Center Party KDS cooperation was discussed sparingly, even though there were groups and individuals who wanted to continue cooperation with KDS.

HEALTH MINISTER DISCUSSES NEW LAW, MINISTRY REFORM

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 22 Dec 86 p 13

[Interview with Health Minister Mustafa Kalemli by correspondent Yener Susoy; in Ankara, date unspecified]

[Excerpts] Minister of Health and Social Assistance Mustafa Kalemli announced in an exclusive to MILLIYET his proposed 'Health Services Reorganisation Bill' which he will submit to the Prime Ministry this coming week. The new bill containing 'novel' measures that relate to various issues ranging from doctors to hospitals, from pharmacies to midwives will be introduced in the Assembly next month. 39th in the long line of health ministers since the inception of the Republic Dr. Kalemli talked about his policies, present and past. A self-described "plain-speaking" person, Kalemli made a point of referring to the problems of rabies and typhoid. A whole range of issues in fact: doctors, patients, nurses, midwives, medical faculty and so on. Here is what the 'rookie' minister had to say:

[Question] As Minister of Health and Social Assistance how do you intend to carry out your duties?

[Answer] I base my policies on certain laws and principles -- Article 56 of the Constitution for instance. There are others. The Ministry was founded on 3 May 1920, through decree no. 3. Its charter was established 19 years later. Then there is the 'Public Health Law' circa 1930, and 'Law Concerning the Practice of Medicine' which came out in 1928. Of more recent vintage we have the governmental decrees, no. 181 and 210. I have to provide health services within that legal framework. Before engaging in any argument over the system we have to establish those facts.

[Question] You are the 39th health minister since the inception of the Republic. Only 3 of your predecessors have been from

outside the medical profession. Many valuable people have sat in this chair. So how come we are still trying to grapple with the most elementary problems?

[Answer] It's the system, that's where the problem is. In the early years we gave priority to preventive medicine. Curative medicine remained in the background. A good decision... During that period many diseases -- tuberculosis, trachoma, malaria -- were eradicated. World-class performance... Later doctors were allowed to open practices, as an incentive measure. At the time payment for doctor's services was called 'honorarium'. During the 60s there was great progress in the diagnostic field and big increases in the number of university hospitals. 'Curative' medicine came to its own.

[Question] What else are you thinking about in hospital reform?

[Answer] Hospital directors seem to be responsible for everything -- cleaning, catering, laundry, personnel, health services and so on. In our hospitals three different services are provided:

1. Hospitality. May also be called the 'hotelling' aspect,
2. Catering. Is the hospital director supposed to be maitre d'hotel as well?
3. Medical services. If there is time and energy left over from the first two, that is.

[Question] I thought there were specified people in charge of procurement at our hospitals.

[Answer] Hardly at all. The director does it all by himself. Our hospital directors know the market prices of foods better than anyone. They have to. Otherwise they won't be able to cope.

[Question] How will hospitals be managed under the new system?

[Answer] I would like to see hospitals institute their own boards, whether it is a foundation or trusteeship. Cleaning services are already contracted out. Catering might go the same way. But I would retain control over the kitchens. Unless they satisfy the conditions I won't contract catering out. Can we expect those 'food factories' which can hardly cook regular meals to cook diet meals? I don't know. But the laundry should be contracted out. So that hospital directors have their hand freer to deal with medical services. I would like to see boards

governing the hospitals -- composed of doctors, economists and a statistician perhaps. Let them make the decisions concerning the personnel, equipment and food. And if they have enough money to spare let them make investment decisions, too.

[Question] Where will the money come from?

[Answer] They are part of the social security system, aren't they? There are places where the bills can be sent. That is one source of revenue. I will also establish a system of profits and premiums. When revenues fall short, the state will cover the shortfall. I will employ doctors on a contractual basis. The hospital director will negotiate the contract with the doctor. It will be based on an annual points system. Doctors will be competing among themselves. They will be working very hard but will be paid bonuses out of the earnings. In this way good doctors, popular doctors, those bringing in business to the hospital will get paid accordingly. The same thing will be applied to midwives, health officials and other personnel.

[Question] Will private practices remain open? There are various allegations on this score, about referrals of patients from the hospital...

[Answer] Why should I be closing private practices? As a government based on liberal philosophy we support the liberal system, one based on competition. Private practices will be the first venue to absorb the patients. But I will watch out for any abuses of the system. A doctor working at a hospital may also maintain a private practice. In which case the contract will be drawn accordingly. I will offer incentives to remain with the hospital. Can there be abuses? Of course. But I will expose abusers publicly. In any case, the problem is not one of the part-time versus full-time. There has been needless preoccupation with this for too long.

[Question] Let's talk about the typhoid problem that is topical these days. There is an impression that the matter is treated somewhat lightly.

[Answer] Typhoid can be seen any year, not this year alone. I am always trying to keep one step ahead of any disease. If a disease is discovered somewhere I get up and say so. We have taken the necessary measures on typhoid. It can hardly be called treating the matter lightly. We have it under control. But typhoid will continue to exist. It exists in every country. It is an intestinal disease, has to do with parasites. Hepatitis is another disease that is hard to eradicate. It is encountered everywhere. It is a viral disease. How can we treat it lightly?

[Question] There is quite a bit of controversy over rabies. Some doctors and pharmacists say that domestically manufactured vaccines are ineffective, some say imported vaccines are better. You have been making positive comments on domestic vaccines but decided to allow imports as well. So what are we supposed to think?

[Answer] I will quote from a letter sent from Izmir by Professor Munir Buke. This is what he says: "It is impossible to have 100 percent effectiveness in all vaccines and serums, including that of rabies. When the vaccine is properly administered effectiveness is around 65 percent. Combined with the serum this can go up as high as 95 percent." Rabies is a terrible thing of course. It has no cure. The vaccine creates an immunity. The domestic vaccines take effect in 14 days whereas the new-type imported vaccines require only 6 days. Another issue is side effects. Rabies vaccines can cause inflammation of the brain. This can be seen in the case of both domestic and imported vaccines. It is said that the side effects are slightly more in domestic vaccines.

[Question] Why don't we adopt the new process of vaccine production, then?

[Answer] It is a new and difficult technique. It is not produced in sufficient quantities in many countries either. The domestic type is easier to manufacture. And we are well-stocked in it. Our vaccines are consistent with WHO standards. But medicine is always progressing. So we adopted the following course. We said, here we produce this type. And there is a new type abroad. So let's allow importation. We have a habit of opting for foreign-produced drugs, I guess.

[Question] But the imported vaccines can hardly be found anywhere.

[Answer] Well, it is such a force of habit that people bought the vaccine in large quantities to keep in their refrigerators, out of a fear of rabies. And imported vaccines disappeared overnight. Upon learning that I instantly picked up the phone, and monitored the entire transportation process, from loading into the plane to withdrawal from the customs. Now 10,800 doses have arrived in Turkey. 5,000 will be sold through Istanbul University Health Foundation and 5,000 will be distributed by the Ministry.

[Question] What is the connection between Health and Social Assistance? Doesn't it complicate things to try and manage the two functions under the same roof?

[Answer] You put your finger on a very important point. I am about to transfer the Social Assistance section of my Ministry to the Ministry of Labor and Social Security. I want to see this ministry focus itself entirely on health matters. And all social security organisations should come under one roof. Presently, we have nursing homes for the elderly, children's homes and Children's Protection Association under our wing. What does Health Ministry have to do with all this? They have to be brought under the relevant authority.

[Question] Thank you.

PHOTO CAPTION:

1. His Health Is Good...Dr. Kalemli says he has never smoked in his life or consumed alcohol. Renowned in the field of kidney transplants, Kalemli has a son, Murat, a 2nd year student at the Capa Faculty of Medicine. His daughter, Sebnem, is a 2nd year junior high-school student at Ankara College. The minister's only problem is his excess kilos.

12466

CSO: 3554/150

HIGHER EDUCATION COUNCIL BANS ALL HEADCOVERS

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 31 Dec 86 p 16

[Text] Higher Education Council (HEC) Chairman Professor Ihsan Dogramaci, in a statement made to HURRIYET, issued a call to female students still "resisting over the turban issue" advising them to "avoid falling prey to provocations, and attend universities clad in contemporary clothing." HEC chairman also reminded students that the first stanza of the Koran exhorts believers to 'study'.

Prof. Dogramaci recounted the developments relating to the banning of turbans which they had allowed 2,5 years ago. He said:

Yes, 2,5 years ago we thought that female students could come to university wearing a turban in civilized fashion. We were prepared to view the turban, worn in a proper manner, as a contemporary form of headgear. That's why we said 'yes' to the turban, back then. But later we began to see that the turban, to which we had said 'yes', was being used in a different way. Some female students started wearing same-type turbans, all in the same color, along with long, flowing overcoats reaching their ankles. They started coming and going like that, generating an impression that they were carrying on a mission, and making a statement. Of course, this was unacceptable. There was some negative reaction. One of the students decided to take the issue to the Superior Court of Appeals with a view to getting a favorable decision because a faculty member was against admitting her to class in that attire. The Court examined the case and brought the decision in favor of the professor, finding the student in the wrong.

On Behalf of the Turkish Nation

Dogramaci, continuing his account made specific reference to "President Kenan Evren's interest in the matter, and his letter to him on the subject." Following the Court of Appeals decision, events unfolded as follows:

Court of Appeals had brought down the decision on behalf of the Turkish nation. So we abided by the decision. Following the decision we added a clause to our regulations governing student behavior, and informed all our affiliated institutions of the change. The added clause required that students present a contemporary appearance and wear contemporary attire.

So Long As It's Kept Within Bounds

Answering our question, "What is meant by contemporary appearance and attire, does it include blue-jeans?" HEC chairman said:

What we mean is the prevalent mode of dress at contemporary universities. If blue-jeans is a contemporary attire, if students at contemporary universities are wearing blue-jeans then our students can enter classes wearing them. We are against extremes. As a student cannot enter the class wearing a swimsuit he/she cannot enter wearing non-contemporary attire either.

Provocations

Drawing attention to the "insistence of students on wearing the same type, same color long overcoats as well as turbans," Dogramaci argued that "such behavior is mostly due to outside provocation." He added:

Students say they are covering themselves. One might point out that the first stanza of the Koran urges the believer to 'study'. Koran demands that believers study before anything else. Studying is of the essence. So their behavior contravenes the Koran. We are against any form of extremism.

Responding to a question, "Are such students increasing in number, and how are the universities expected to handle them?" Dogramaci gave the following answer:

We believe these students to be instruments of provocation from the outside. As such we are alerting them to the dangers involved. As to numbers, it varies. In some universities they are on the increase and in some they are declining. In some there are none. Such students won't be able to enter classes at the universities. But their teachers will give them information, explain things to them. They will alert them to the dangers. They will approach them in a friendly manner. They will explain the sort of attire suitable for a university student and what contemporary attire ought to be. In this way the teaching staff will explain things to our students thereby offering genuine help.

Regarding the students who insisted in wearing 'turban' Dogramaci had this to say:

They should appeal to the courts. Let them come up with a court decision. We have always been respectful of the judgments of our courts, made on the behalf of the Turkish nation. We will remain so. We will always abide by them.

Dogramaci Attacked

Upon allegations that he is not a Muslim, Prof. Dogramaci told the HURRIYET correspondent:

I am the child of a Muslim family and I have always been proud of being a Muslim. I am saddened by the accusations. I am a grandson of Mehmet Ali Bey, Kirkuk deputy in the Ottoman Parliament. My wife is the granddaughter of Field Marshal Mehmet Fazil Pasha. My wife's uncle was Ottoman Prime Minister Mahmut Sevket Pasha. I suppose nobody doubts the Muslim credentials of these gentlemen.

Dogramaci also stated that his words, "The turban issue is beyond my authority," had been misinterpreted. He offered the following clarification:

Decisions at HEC are taken in a collegial manner, not by the chairman alone. That is what I meant when I said, "The turban issue is beyond my authority."

12466

CSO: 3554/149

REACTIONS TO HEADCOVER BAN

. Newspaper Article

Istanbul MILLI GAZETE in Turkish 31 Dec 86 pp 1, 11

[Article by Haber Merkezi]

[Text] Fearing that people might react adversely to banning students from schools for wearing headcover, a permit of sorts had been granted for 'turban'. But, recently, the 'turban decree' was annulled, bowing to pressures from we don't know where. And now our daughters won't be able to attend university if they are intent on covering their heads.

If the issue is approached from the viewpoint of individual rights and freedoms, as guaranteed under the Constitution, the whole thing is totally illegal. Because freedom of attire is a major individual right. And in the much-quoted Reform Edicts (of the 1920's) there is not a single reference to a woman not being allowed to wear headcover, or chador for that matter. And there is no reference anywhere to anyone authorized to restrict access to education for wearing headcover. But it is forbidden none the less.

What is going on in here? Who is afraid of headcover and why? What harm is there in our women covering their heads as a matter of religious conviction? And the issue is not handled in a straightforward manner -- coming out and saying it outright, "Head-scarves are forbidden, my friend!" (having worked out the legal basis beforehand). What we get instead is blatant dilly dallying -- "it is turban, no it isn't."

It is difficult to make out the kind of anxieties that lead someone like Haluk Bayulken (a former foreign minister) to say: "Freedom of attire does not necessarily mean adhering to religious dress code so far as Turkey is concerned. Maybe in two or three generations..." Who is to decide what a Turkish man/woman is supposed to wear and on what authority? These matters should

be openly stated and discussed. Of course, if they are discussable at all... Or are we to believe that HEC Chairman Ihsan Dogramaci (said to be a Christian and yet to offer a denial) is following an extremely subtle plan -- liberalizing headcover at his own university (of which he is founder), banning it at state universities, thereby attracting the banned students to his university?

This nation and this people who have never hesitated to risk life and property in the service of their country when the call came, deriving their strength and courage from faith lodged in their breast, have done so primarily because the 'honor' of their womenfolk was seen to be at stake. They have always considered any attempt at interfering with the headcover of their womenfolk as an affront to their honor. Isn't it ironical that having shed their blood against foreign invaders to defend the honor of their womenfolk only to find their own kind trying to interfere with the headcover of their daughters? How can this be possible?

The headcover issue is a delicate matter. It is so because it involves religion and honor. Those trying a fait accompli will soon realize it isn't so easy. These are times when everybody, including those who don't cover, are feeling the uneasiness of not covering their heads. So it is all the more reprehensible to find people who are trying to instill into minds the idea that covering one's head is a sign of reaction, retrogression and bigotry. But what is really instilled in the minds, inadvertently, could be this: "Are these guys from us or not?" And this is a question increasingly heard around the country.

The persons for whom the question is meant are also responsible for giving rise to rumors that behind all this there might be American involvement (in a country said to be independent). It may be understandable why a social democrat, a socialist, leftist or communist would be fearful of headcover. They are interested in getting rid of religion so that when they eventually offer the country on a plate to their boss [Soviet Union] the groundwork would be completed. Evidence for these admittedly heavy charges is to be found in the deafening silence of the apostles of freedom and independence in the face of the Afghan invasion, which completed its 7th anniversary recently.

In the geopolitical situation we find ourselves, the reason and guarantee of our existence happens to be our religion. Among the ones trying to distance us from our religion are the ones trying to eliminate the reason of our existence. Our survival would be helped not by undermining our religion but by reinforcing it. The headcover, which seems to frighten some to death, is among

the guarantees of our existence. During our war of independence, while the so-called 'enlightened' ladies and gentlemen were having fun in Beyoglu the nation was saved by the woman of Anatolia for whom her headcover was a weapon. It was this woman who carried the missiles on her back for miles on end. Knowing she did this for her honor, her religion and her nation she didn't complain even for a moment. Even when, after the war, the governing positions were filled by those who had waited out the war in bars and saloons, or in decadent quarters of Europe, the Anatolian woman still did not complain. But now, armed with the epithet of 'enlightenment', those people have declared war against headcover. Whereas nobody interferes with those walking about in scanty clothes, enmity is unleashed on those covering their bodies. And all this in the name of 'civilization' and 'being contemporary'. Forgetting that the very same concepts are grounded in tolerance and harmonious co-existence.

Motherland Party

Istanbul MILLI GAZETE in Turkish 31 Dec 86 pp 1, 11

[Text] HEC Chairman Ihsan Dogramaci's decision to ban the turban at universities, in contravention of all known rules of legality, is being protested all over the country and at the universities. According to investigations of MILLI GAZETE correspondents, the turban ban (which supersedes medieval inquisition courts and has butchered the freedom of belief and conscience) has created ripples within political parties as well.

While the HEC chairman -- who has been governing our universities in an arbitrary and oppressive manner in violation of human rights, of freedom of conscience and of the 82 Constitution -- was busy attacking the headcover of our Muslim daughters with the vehemence of a Venizelos, it has been learned that the conservative group within MP is geared to action. A number of MP deputies, arguing that Dogramaci has trampled upon legality and the Constitution asked for the removal of this man, who seems to be poking fun at Muslims, from the office of HEC chairman.

According to inside sources in Ankara, the leader of the conservative group within MP, Mehmet Kececiler, asked Prime Minister Ozal to take action unless he wants to see MP get punished by Muslim voters normally casting their ballots for MP. Letters and telegrams were pouring in, so were the phone calls, from the party's provincial organisations demanding that party headquarters should take effective action regarding the turban ban -- which in effect means the exclusion of Muslim girls from univer-

sity education. It is reported that Kececiler has notified the prime minister that if he fails to take action against the arbitrary decisions of Dogramaci, MP might get routed in 88 elections. Provincial organisations are said to be worried that the vote might shift to CWP.

There are also reports that Istanbul Deputy Husnu Dogan has been telling those close to him that if MP remains silent on the turban issue the party might get fragmented. It is said that Dogan strongly disagrees with Dogramaci's attitude, and that he has been constantly arguing with deputies of a liberal bent who are supportive of HEC policies.

It is reported that conservative deputies within MP are annoyed by the animosity shown toward headcover and by the latest turban ban, and that Zonguldak Deputy Engin Cansizoglu protested the arbitrary decision-making style of Dogramaci, and unless a stance is taken against Dogramaci he would resign from MP.

Meanwhile, persistent rumors circulate in Ankara that a number of MP deputies -- including Ismail Dayi (Balikesir), Ziya Ercan (Bolu), Vehbi Dincerler (Istanbul), Ercument Konukman (Istanbul), Sukru Yurur (Ordu), Halil Sivgin (Ankara), Ismail Saruhan (Ankara) -- have organized a campaign against the turban ban, and that more deputies are expected to join the group in coming days.

Citizens' Views

Istanbul MILLI GAZETE in Turkish 31 Dec 86 pp 1, 11

[Article by Selahattin Altun]

[Text] The public expects the government to do something about the turban ban. We took a poll on HEC's 'turban ban' at Topkapi museum, known for its cosmopolitan clientele, and found only one person supportive of HEC. The public who overwhelmingly disapprove of the turban ban expect the government to resolve the issue urgently.

Here is a sample of what the people are saying:

- A woman (asked her name to be withheld): Turkey is a free country, so the students should be able to behave any way they like. These kinds of bans sometimes create extremely comical

- Mustafa Seyhan: One of the principles of the Republic is secularism. But secularism does not have to be one-sided. In a democratic system everyone should be able to fulfill his/her religious obligations freely. It is paradoxical that while they are preoccupied with turbans some people are wearing clothes that force the bounds of morality. But no one speaks ill of them. The government should be taking the necessary measures on behalf of the nation.

- Ali Tekdemir: No one should interfere with what others are wearing. As you know this is a secular country -- religion cannot interfere with the state, and the state cannot interfere with religion. Therefore, I disapprove of turban ban.

- F.A. (female): Turban should not be banned. I want to see turban-wearing students get an education. Wearing turban should not be an obstacle to education.

- Tezcan Dizmen: This is wrong. Everyone has his/her own beliefs. One should not prevent others from practicing their beliefs. There is supposed to be a democracy, isn't there? Everyone should abide by its rules.

- N.S. (female): I don't approve of turban ban. Headcover should not be considered an obstacle to education.

- Huseyin E.: Turkish Republic is a secular state. The penetration of religion into schools is an absolute breach of secularism. I therefore oppose the wearing of headcover in educational institutions. I don't approve of it at all. They should not be wearing headcover in such places. School is one thing, mosque another. If you want to pray you go into a mosque. If a person wears headcover it means she is devout, she is conservative. I disapprove of it completely. Better they don't go to school.

- Hasan Sakiroglu: Turban ban is shameful, disgraceful. All the world is talking of human rights; in Turkey we talk of literacy campaigns -- that everyone will be educated, no one will be left ignorant. And then people who have done nothing but cover their head out of religious conviction are being condemned. People who have reached university level get disparaged, their hard-earned rights taken away from them. This is disgraceful. If the government represents the people it should reflect their sentiments. We would have expected the government to fulfill its duty.

Prominent Personalities, Students

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 31 Dec 86 p 8

[Text] Reaction against turban ban among university students is gathering momentum. A group of female students from various university departments paid a call to our premises, expressing anxiety "over the possibility that what has started at universities today might spread to the mosque tomorrow and all the way to the deletion of 'Islam' from our passports (where the holder's religion is indicated).

Turban-wearing students from Faculty of Law and School of Journalism said, "Our compliance with the religious dress code is not politically motivated at all; it is merely to fulfill our religious obligations." Pointing out that Turkey is a free and democratic country, the students asserted:

The turban ban, apart from being incompatible with Article 24 of the Constitution, is contrary to the beliefs of the populace which is Turkish and Muslim. Whatever the pressure, and at the cost of forfeiting a university education, we are prepared to leave school but won't remove our headcover.

How Could It Be Banned ?

Underlining that the religious dress code has become the 'symbol' of the Turkish woman, and that it is firmly embedded in Islam, the students said:

We are ready to believe that those who imposed this ban are Muslims. But how can they bring themselves to ban the religious dress code, which is an integral part of the Turkish woman?

At the university level, even the discussion of such things should be considered a waste of time, said the students, adding:

As a result we have become a minority. But we're certainly not that. We are citizens of the Turkish Republic. We are not demanding minority rights here. We only want to see to it that our constitutional rights are not constrained. It is particularly sad to see such things happening at universities which are supposed to be institutions of science. This is forcing us to make a choice between an education and our religious beliefs. We are not living in Bulgaria, this is Turkey. If Naim Suleymanoglu [world champion weightlifter who recently defected from Bulgaria] knew about all this he would probably pack his bags and go back to Bulgaria.

Saying, "All we want is to complete our studies while remaining true to our religious beliefs and be treated like human beings, eventually turning out as good and productive citizens," students left behind photocopy of a parent's letter addressed to HEC.

Pressures at Ataturk University

Meanwhile, Erzurum Ataturk University Arts and Sciences Faculty Dean Ahmet Cakir alleged, in a letter sent to turban-wearing students, that "they have been wearing headscarves, not turbans." The turban-wearing students, on the other hand, disputed Dean Cakir's allegations, saying: "We are wearing turbans on faculty premises. And all we want is to get an education, so they should leave our turbans alone."

National Labor Party Leader Ali Koc said, "We are inviting all political parties and the press to jointly denounce HEC's illegal action in imposing the headcover ban."

Students at General Assembly

Meanwhile, 10 university students wearing headcover visited the General Assembly and demanded the lifting of turban ban.

The students' first visit was to Pertev Ascioglu, deputy chairman of the MP caucus. The students -- from Ankara Law Faculty, Faculty of Political Sciences and Ankara Faculty of Medicine -- asked Ascioglu to help in lifting the turban ban. Students said:

We cover our heads because of our beliefs. We are not doing this with ulterior motive, or intending to exploit the cause. We are acting purely out of religious conviction.

Students Get Backing

In an announcement he made after meeting the students, Ascioglu said that the students were in the right, and he would take up the matter with the prime minister and the minister of youth and sport. Said Ascioglu:

I personally don't see anything in this contrary to secularism or Ataturk reforms. These young people are doing nothing deliberate or with sinister motives. Ataturk had banned the chador and the veil. Therefore, turban-wearing violates neither the Ataturk principles nor the Constitution. On the contrary, banning them would be against human rights, secularism and the Constitution.

EDITORIAL DENOUNCES 'TURBAN SCHOLASTICISM'

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 31 Dec 86 pp 1, 8

[Commentary by Taha Akyol]

[Text] Who says 'The truest guide in life is science'! No, the truest guide is denying science to our young women just because they wear head-scarves. And to do it in such a way that even turtle neck sweaters would suggest 'reactionary' attitudes. Don't bother about what the rest of the world is doing, you don't have to pay heed to laboratories, libraries or post-industrial society beckoning on the horizon. These gentlemen have found the magical formula for both development and 'enlightenment'. So long as you deny scientific education to young women wearing head-scarves you automatically join the ranks of the 'progressive' countries!

Should Nobel Laureate physicist Prof. Abdus Salam of Pakistan come to Turkey he won't be able to lecture at a university. Because he wears a beard, and beards are prohibited too.

Living in what is supposed to be the 'information age' makes it all the more incongruous to be preoccupied with dress codes and the like. We might as well proudly announce to the world: "In our country young women covering their heads cannot attend university." Is there any country other than the unfortunate South Korea where this kind of thing can be expected to happen?

Such is the ridiculous side of 'turban scholasticism'. But there is a more serious side to it which could be quite worrisome. Neither the constitution nor human rights, nor democracy which is the only regime based on human rights, nor scientific mentality can explain how students wearing head-scarves be denied scientific education. This is forcing people to make a choice between their faith and their future prospects. Apart from being a gross injustice one has to think of possible consequences. In today's

issue of TERCUMAN you must have read about PKK's intention of organizing 'retrogressive' activity in Turkey. Why should a treasonous organization like PKK choose to do this? The answer is simple: What the PKK wants is to provide feelings of backlash against an imaginary 'retrogression', leading to suppression of faith and conscience, and in turn producing resistance, all of which designed to destabilize Turkey!

History has shown that permanent societal peace can be secured only through freedom. When masses are subjected to oppression they become alienated from the state and the regime, and unrest soon turns into radicalism. Instead of allowing the students wearing head-scarves attend their classes peacefully and freely, subjecting them to oppression and forcing them to decide between their faith and their future is a very misguided and provocative attitude. At this point there seems to be an inadvertent convergence between 'turban scholasticism', PKK's machinations, and the far-left's 'agitation' strategy. It is difficult to understand why anyone should choose to suppress people's beliefs instead of following the path of freedom and human rights, thus giving ready excuse to the agitators directed from abroad.

Turning one's hostility towards the turban and head-scarf into a pedantic exercise, inflicting moral terror upon those covering their heads out of religious conviction, and forcing these girls into making a choice between their faith and their future is not only against the law but a political error of no mean consequence. We address the following question to everyone: If people cannot exercise their constitutional rights -- i.e. to follow one's religious convictions -- in a democratic regime, where else should they seek those rights and freedoms? Some hard thinking on this question will be required on the part of (those representing) the state and the contemporary 'ulama'!

12466

CSO: 3554/150

SCHLUTER ACCUSED OF CARRYING OUT SDP ECONOMIC POLICIES

Creditworthiness, Krone Suffer Results

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 29 Mar 87 p 11

[Commentary by Frank Dahlgaard: "Big Voter Deception"; first two paragraphs are BERLINGSKE TIDENDE introduction]

[Text] Poul Schluter has carried out a social recovery policy that makes Anker Jorgensen green with envy. If the Social Democrats regain power he will be obliged to straighten out the balance of payments and competitiveness--in other words he will have to carry out an economic recovery policy. Thus the reality is the exact opposite of what the newspapers and TV are saying.

The four-party nonsocialist government has actually carried out a Social Democratic policy and created social recovery at the expense of the foreign exchange balance and creditworthiness.

"It is a lie! It's a bad joke--or else the whole thing is a nightmare."

That would be the reaction of an economist waking up after 4 years of an enchanted sleep and hearing about developments in Denmark under the four-party government.

For things have undeniably gone differently than the economists and the Council of Economic Advisers imagined in the fall of 1982 when Poul Schluter replaced Anker Jorgensen as prime minister.

Then the four-party government announced that the primary goal was to restore Denmark's economy. Now there would be an end to deficits and indebtedness. Schluter's paramount goal was a steady reduction of Denmark's foreign deficit. All other considerations would have to take a back seat to this demand for an improvement in the balance of payments. This included the more short-range concerns relating to employment, real wages and consumption.

With these government declarations in the back of one's mind, it would be a shock to wake up after 4 years of unconsciousness and find out that:

The four-party government has just come up with the biggest foreign exchange deficit in the postwar era after 3 years of unbroken deterioration in the balance of payments.

The creditworthiness of the Danish state has been adjusted downward by foreign financial circles for the second time in the lifetime of the non-socialist government.

The business sector's competitiveness is about to decline dramatically.

And confidence in the krone is just as shaky today as it was before Anker Jorgensen left office in 1982.

Just the Opposite

What in the world has happened in Denmark during the last 4 years?

The incredible thing is that the four-party government has actually pursued Social Democratic policy--but it has done so far more consistently and efficiently than the Social Democrats themselves have ever done.

Instead of sticking to the original goal of economic recovery at any price, the Schluter government has carried out a formidable social restoration that makes the Social Democrats and the members of the Socialist People's Party [SF] green with envy.

Almost 200,000 new jobs have been created.

Unemployment has been reduced to the lowest level in 6 years.

Wage earners have had their security and optimism restored.

A decline in real wages under the Social Democratic government has been changed to a gain.

A tremendous growth in private consumption has been permitted.

Work hours have been reduced and we are now well on the way to a 35-hour week.

Improvements have been made for pension recipients, students and families with children.

And public spending has been allowed to grow--although at a more moderate rate than before.

The entire development is an expression of a social restoration according to Social Democratic principles. The development has occurred at the expense of a tremendous growth in imports and the foreign exchange deficit. Of course the four-party government has said a lot of solemn things about

the balance of payments. But in practice the government has given a higher priority to employment, real wages and consumption growth than to the foreign exchange balance and competitiveness.

In the long run, however it is not words or declarations of intent that count. It is actions and results.

That is the major problem today for the four-party government and the rest of us.

Arne Bjerregaard

It has been a political nightmare for the Social Democrats to see the Schluter government carrying out almost the entire social restoration program they were dreaming of themselves.

Therefore the Social Democrats and SF people have been forced to express deep concern over the balance of payments and indebtedness. Of course it has been frustrating for them, but on the other hand it has been extremely amusing for the few nonsocialists who have seen through the Christiansborg drama--and who can remember the former Social Democratic government's attitude toward the ideas of balance of payments and indebtedness.

Naturally the Social Democrats and SF have been vigorous in accusing the government and the Radical Liberals of attacking the welfare state, hurting the weak members of society, digging "mass social graves," etc., etc. But aside from Arne Bjerregaard of the Christian People's Party, few politicians at Christiansborg have fallen for this propaganda.

On the other hand, the general public has. Almost every other voter believes that the Schluter government's policies have benefited the rich at the expense of the poor.

Under the four-party government the tax burden has broken all records and last spring A. P. Moller criticized the government publicly.

This is not exactly a sign that Schluter and Niels Helveg have hurt only the weak members of society.

Actually it indicates the exact opposite.

Rich People Complaining

The reality is different, however. Time after time the four-party coalition and the Radical Liberals have implemented measures--or given the green light to developments--that have affected the rich and the affluent in particular. This applies to such things as:

The capital tax and the real interest tax on pension savings.

Compulsory savings for people with incomes over 150,000 kroner.

The increase in corporation taxes from 40 to 50 percent.

The tax reform's limitation of the deduction value of interest payments.

The limitation on the deduction for entertainment expenses.

The fall intervention's "mix loan" and the tax on consumer loan interest charges.

More and more people have to pay a tax on capital.

There has been a substantial increase in property taxes and home rental values.

Inflation profits on debts have been reduced dramatically.

In letters to newspaper editors it is now the affluent nonsocialist voters who are complaining and expressing feelings of betrayal by the four-party government.

Up and Down

In the past week the chairman of the Industrial Council briefly abandoned his role as government supporter. He expressed his inner convictions in public, namely that the color of the government does not really play a big role as far as industry is concerned. The important thing is political stability and secure planning opportunities.

And Social Democrat Svend Auken has also said that if his party is in the government it will "coddle industry." And Auken recently stressed that the fixed krone exchange rate policy is basically correct and that the fall intervention was one of the best things the four-party government has done.

And no wonder. The intervention was Social Democratic policy down to the smallest detail (for example the "envy" tax on large pleasure boats and the steps against so-called "marginal speculators").

The coalition government's "dynamic business policy" with increased co-operation between the public sector and private businesses cannot be distinguished from Social Democratic concepts either.

However we cannot expect the Social Democrats and the government parties to stress their fundamental agreement when they address the voters. Politicians make their living from pointing out disagreements and differences and when 90 percent of all reporters uncritically quote the statements made by politicians, the public gets an exaggerated impression of disagreements among the parties represented in Folketing.

With respect to the basic question of economic and social restoration, things are the exact opposite of what the media and the politicians say and write. In reality the four-party coalition has carried out a policy of

social restoration at the expense of the economy to such a degree that the Social Democrats have recently been forced to talk about economic recovery.

And that is not a lie or a bad joke.

But it may be something of an economic policy nightmare.

Paper Comments on Charges

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 30 Mar 87 p 10

[Editorial: "Strong Medicine"]

[Text] As it appears from an article on page 4 of today's edition by Social Democratic political spokesman Svend Auken, he disagrees with AKTUELT about what deliberations have taken place with regard to the party's election plan.

On the other hand there is no disagreement at all about the most important thing, for our attention was caught by Svend Auken's candid statement that "strong medicine" is necessary.

The unpleasant fact is that the four-party coalition "has just come up with the biggest foreign exchange deficit in the postwar era after 3 years of an unbroken deterioration in the balance of payments" and that "business competitiveness is about to decline dramatically."

These quotes do not come from the Social Democratic Party secretariat but from Frank Dahlgaard of BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, the economist who formerly expressed such great enthusiasm for the Schluter government's economic policy.

Now Dahlgaard writes that "confidence in the krone is just as shaky as it was before Anker Jorgensen left office in 1982." Such words from this particular writer are an amazingly harsh judgment of the present government. In this serious situation there are many lurking dangers for a Social Democratic Party that after 4 1/2 years in the opposition is naturally eager to get the government back in its hands again.

There is a danger of being so caught up by what has been said while the party was in the opposition that it lacks the nerve to do what has to be done. And if--as Svend Auken's statement suggests--the party does have the courage to carry out unpleasant measures, there is a danger that these will be executed in such a way that the party will be unable to win the support of its own deputies or the electorate.

At this time when the present government has given up and just shrugs its shoulders at the devaluation of our creditworthiness abroad, it is important for the biggest opposition party to have an open discussion of what should be done, how strong the methods should be and which groups should be

protected. Only in this way can the party avoid the formation of factions and the creation of quite artificial distinctions between right-wing and left-wing orientation.

For it cannot be leftist-oriented to allow the economy to bog down and undermine our industrial base. This would primarily hurt ordinary workers and the large groups that depend on a smoothly-functioning national economy.

Now both the medicine and the dosage must be discussed and we take Svend Auken's word for it when he states that nothing will be kept quiet.

6578

CSO: 3613/69

COMMISSION PROPOSES REGROUPING OF IRI, ENI, EFIM

Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 18 Mar 87 p 33

[Article by Enrico Morelli: "New Interrelationship Among IRI, ENI, EFIM: Two Groups To Be Formed for Airlines and Railroads"; first paragraph is LA REPUBBLICA introduction]

[Text] Aeritalia, Agusta, Siai Marchetti, and Caproni are in the first group, with combined sales of 2.5 trillion lire. AVIOFER and Ansaldo Transportation are in the second group. A meeting will be held tomorrow to make the definitive choices.

The creation of an aviation group and a railroad group involving the reassignment of various enterprises among the three state holding companies (IRI [Industrial Reconstruction Institute]; ENI [National Hydrocarbons Agency]; and EFIM [Manufacturing Industry Holding and Financial Company]): this is the principal proposal that the Commission for the Restructuration of the State Holding Companies (under the chairmanship of Prof Franco A. Grassini) will submit to Minister of Government Holdings Clelio Darida before the end of March. The commission--which consists (in addition to Chairman Grassini) of Pellegrino Capaldo, Paolo Gnes, Sabino Cassese, Giampaolo Rossi, and Claudio Varrone--will hold another meeting tomorrow, and it could prove to be the decisive one. Minister Darida has instructed the members of the commission to meet the end-of-March deadline, even if the political crisis persists.

In its approximately 30 pages the Grassini Commission's report will set forth some conclusions of a general nature, together with the criteria on which the proposals are based. Above all, the experts do not attempt to delineate a comprehensive and congruous model for those areas of activity in which it would be appropriate for the enterprises of the state holding companies to operate; an undertaking of this kind would entail choices of a political character and should be subjected to analysis by the respective parliamentary committees.

The Grassini Commission is convinced that the existing holding companies--IRI, ENI, and EFIM--must maintain their individuality and autonomy. These three groups have combined sales of approximately 96 trillion lire: three times those of Fiat. The IRI alone has sales of around 45 trillion; the ENI, 46 trillion; and EFIM the remainder. The attention of the experts was concentrated on those situations in which the lack of coordination among enterprises

belonging to different holding companies clearly gives rise to increased costs or to missed business opportunities.

Special attention was devoted to the lack of coordination among different holding companies. Situations of this kind were identified in six sectors: 1) aviation; 2) construction of railway rolling stock; 3) construction of industrial plants; 4) military production; 5) data development; and 6) "job creation" activities. Marginal cases of duplication also exist: for example, Carisio Aluminum--a subsidiary of Sameton, one of the ENI companies--produces aluminum from scrap and is therefore in competition with the EFIM companies in the aluminum sector. Another ENI company is INSO, a contracting firm that builds industrial plants and other structures and operates in fields that are very closely related to those of ITALSTAT. Another duplication is found--for example--in the tourism field, where the ENI has SEMI and the IRI has SOFIN.

Duplications, however, actually represent--in terms of sales--only 2 to 3 percent of the receipts of the state holding company [PPSS] system. Problems of this kind are always present in large conglomerates, and the commission will accordingly tell the government and parliament that it is not possible to establish a definitive structure for the PPSS system, just as it is also inappropriate to propose frequent changes. The demand made by parliament for a special restructuration--a demand which gave rise to the work of the commission--came in response to the lack of coordination of opinions and interests on the part of the concerned state holding companies.

The commission's proposals are based on five criteria: 1) a determination of the prospects for increased costs and coordinated operations over the medium to long term; 2) the merger of several enterprises into a single management entity, to achieve superiority in dimensional, temporal, and strategic terms; 3) a positive evaluation of the competition among enterprises operating in diverse groups; 4) the avoidance of conflicts relating to business practice; 5) the encouragement of organizational efficiency.

Which enterprises, therefore, will be merged into the aviation sector and into the railroad sector that are to be formed? Scheduled for inclusion in the aviation group are Aeritalia (IRI) and Agusta, Siai Marchetti, and Caproni (EFIM), and in addition the Naval Air Shops (IRI) and SACA (EFIM): in all, a group with combined gross sales of approximately 2.5 trillion lire. Scheduled for inclusion in the railroad group are companies such as AVIOFER (Breda Railway, OMECA, and others) of EFIM and Ansaldo Transportation of Finmeccanica [Mechanical Engineering Finance Corporation]-IRI, which have combined sales of approximately 1 trillion lire. The restructuration proposed by the commission would not include the food sector and therefore would not include SME (IRI) and SOPAL (EFIM). Moreover, GEPI [Industrial Participations and Management Company]--which belongs 50 percent to IMI and the balance to the three PPSS management entities--was not taken into consideration in any of the numerous parliamentary proposals that have already been made for the reform of the group.

The formation of the new groups could come about in various ways. The commission has not yet arrived at any definitive conclusions on this point, but the

technical possibilities are basically three in number: 1) to transfer the companies from one management entity to another, with the possibility of compensation; 2) to create new joint corporations to control the companies that will be merged; and 3) to form mixed corporations whose shares will be equal to the value of the respective contributions of capital.

The commission's conclusions will be sent to Darida before the end of the month. The minister will immediately thereafter inform the respective committees on Industry, Defense, the Budget, and the PPSS of the Chamber of Deputies, which have requested that the system of public enterprises be restructured. A report will also soon be made to parliament by the new president of EFIM, Rolando Valiani; the request was made by Calogero Pumilia, leader of the DC group on the Bicameral Committee on the PPSS.

10992

CSO: 3528/104

FIAT DEFEATS JAPANESE TO MANUFACTURE CARS IN POLAND

Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 18 Mar 87 p 34

[Unattributed report: "Fiat Defeats Japanese; Will Disembark in Poland"; first paragraph is LA REPUBBLICA introduction]

[Text] Turin (ST)--Fiat will build the Duna and the "New Topolino" in Poland; this means that to some extent Fiat has succeeded in defusing the time bomb represented by the Japanese competition. Polish sources disclosed yesterday that negotiations between the Warsaw government and the Turin automotive group have arrived at a favorable stage. The same sources see a close correlation between the \$700 million "maxicontract" and Jaruzelski's trip to Italy of last January. They therefore tend to believe the version according to which the good progress of the negotiations is the result of Jaruzelski's talks with Craxi, Andreotti, and--especially--Agnelli and his general staff.

The news of the resumption of the negotiations on a new and more interesting note as indicated above has caught the Fiat group at a particularly delicate moment. At a time when it is grappling with the problem of finding purchasers for the shares of stock taken back from its Libyan partner--and also with the Alfa negotiations, which are manifesting aspects that are in many ways unforeseeable--Fiat has found a very useful ally in the form of the news leaked by elements within the Polish embassy in Rome. Specifically, the prices for its stock are rising throughout the world, and that fact strengthens it at home both on the financial and on the labor fronts.

As is well known, Fiat had originally proposed to Poland that two models be built: one of medium piston displacement (a new version of the Ritmo), and another of small piston displacement (believed to be a version of the A-112). The proposal had not aroused any particular enthusiasm among the Poles, and in fact had come up against a somewhat threatening Japanese counterproposal. It will be recalled that the day following his return from Italy, Jaruzelski had met with Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone. That very circumstance had indeed been a source of no little concern to lawyer Agnelli, who was unable to conceal his disappointment.

Something has obviously changed during the past 2 months, perhaps thanks to Fiat's foreign diplomacy. It is known that a high-level Fiat delegation went to Warsaw about 10 days ago; it was probably on that occasion that the aforementioned resumption of negotiations took place. Also according to news leaked

by Polish sources and compiled yesterday by ANSA [National Associated Press Agency], Fiat reformulated the proposal, this time offering two models that differed from those discussed at the previous meetings.

The models in question are said to be: the Duna, an automobile introduced a month and a half ago in Italy and currently being built at the Brazilian plants in Belo Horizonte (it is a midsize sedan that is midway between the Uno and the Regata; 100,000 are being produced annually, all of them destined for the Italian market), and the "New Topolino," a superutility vehicle not yet in production even in Italy (on the heels of the 126 that have already been built in Poland, a total of 55,000 per year will reportedly be built, with one-third destined for the Italian and European market).

If--as it seems--the negotiations are going to be successful, Fiat will be able to renew an agreement with Poland that has lasted for several decades. This collaboration takes on particular importance today, because it is presented as an alternative to a Japanese presence on the "eastern slope" of the European market. The top leadership at Fiat has persisted in its effort for this very reason: specifically, because it knows that a Japanese production establishment in Poland could constitute a serious threat in those sectors of the market that are dominated by cars of small and medium piston displacement--sectors in which Fiat had until now maintained a secure international leadership.

Circles within the Polish embassy in Rome are saying emphatically that Jaruzelski's recent mission was a big success, and not only in respect to the Fiat deal: indeed, agreements in the chemical and agrofood sectors are reportedly also being put into effect. It would appear that this expansion of the scope of the Italian proposal may have convinced the Poles that they should give it serious consideration. Moreover, it will be recalled that the very kind of collaboration offered by Nakasone had made the Italians fearful, and Fiat in particular. But to judge from the way things are going at present, one would say that the Japanese prime minister has not fully convinced General Jaruzelski and his men. Unless, that is, the Poles are playing a clever game to induce the Japanese of Dahiatsu to come up with a new proposal.

10992

CSO: 3528/104

ECONOMIC RECOVERY SEEN HAMPERED BY PUBLIC DEFICIT

Madrid DIARIO 16 in Spanish 9 Apr 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Spaniards Are Spending More Money"]

[Text] Over 3,000 cars were registered in Spain every business day during March. This figure (78,000 vehicles sold), representing an historic record, clearly indicates the atmosphere that the national economy is experiencing. Car sales are one of the most significant indicators for learning the evolution of the domestic demand and, hence of the economy. Last year, the rise in the purchasing power of wages in Spain was nearly 2 points, private consumption increased 4 percent in real terms, and the domestic demand (including not only consumption, but investment as well) rose 6 percent. These have been the most satisfactory economic results in quite a long time.

Spanish society is far removed from being a society prone to spending, although it is true that the average Spaniard has had more cash in his pockets during recent months for consumption. And the fact is that he is spending it.

There are, of course political and social reasons prompting the consumption. When there is not sufficient confidence in the immediate future, when it is suspected that taxes are tending to rise, and when there is no encouragement to save, one lives from hand to mouth, one spends. But there are other reasons of an economic type to explain the increase in private consumption during 1986 and the first months of this year.

During recent months, there has been added to the improvement in the purchasing power of the wage earned by every active Spaniard the not to be under-estimated impact of a larger employed population (which does not necessarily mean that unemployment has declined) and, concurrently, an increase in the activity of the so-called submerged economy. The more consumption, the more activity; and after the latter, the more employment.

But savings have increased as well. In 1986, the rate of savings in the Spanish economy was the highest in recent years, although it is still far from recovering the levels preceding the 1974 economic crisis. According to some sources, during 1986 savings may have increased to an even greater proportion than consumption; which would be a reassuring relief for our economy's battered investment capacity and a hope for the 3 million unemployed.

It is unfortunate that a considerable portion of the increase in consumption has not been translated into greater domestic activity, rather than our having proceeded toward a larger demand for imports (in the record number of cars sold, 25 percent relates to imported vehicles); which constitutes a transfer of greater activity abroad.

The rise in the domestic demand, combined with the increase in savings, could create favorable circumstances for an economic recovery. Nevertheless, one of the great ills in our economy, the public deficit, provides the counteracting element offsetting the possible benefit from the consumption. So long as the government's economic policy does not act effectively against the public greed, in the long run the positive indicators will be nothing but mere outlets for advancement.

2909

CSO: 3548/70

RECRUITS EXPERIENCING DIFFICULTY WITH NEW TWELVE-MONTH SERVICE

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 31 Mar 87 pp 1, 12

[Article by Jacob Andersen; first paragraph is INFORMATION introduction]

[Text] In Funen in particular a great many volunteers have been unable to get through the longer service period.

One out of every six soldiers did not make it through the new 12-month training period that was introduced last year. This appeared from a survey INFORMATION made on the basis of figures from military service centers.

Recruits with the Funen Life Guard Regiment did especially poorly, with only about three out of four staying the course.

Some 800 recruits in all--between 80 and 90 percent of them volunteers--were called up for the extended 12-month military service period with combat troops as of 1 April 1986. Of these 114 were unable to complete their service, while 19 were sent home because they had been absent for more than 20 days during the first 3 months.

Twice as many recruits were discharged compared with the normal rate. In 1985 the rate for the Army as a whole was 8.5 percent and the level has been the same since 1981.

Too Tough

The Funen Life Guard Regiment in Odense accounted for the most discharges in terms of both percentages and absolute figures. The regiment had 341 12-month recruits on 1 April 1986--almost half of the new "long-term" soldiers were stationed in Odense. Some 75 men--22 percent--were discharged along the way, most of them because of physical problems.

"The group we are talking about was called up last April. We normally send home more of the spring group than the fall group. The reason may be that those we get in the fall often come from a somewhat more regulated situation, students, for example. Therefore they may find it easier to adjust," Major Johannes Lollesgaard of the Funen Life Guard Regiment told INFORMATION.

We asked if the fact that they had to discharge so many more people because of physical injuries than other service areas indicated that they are too tough.

"Yes, I think so. We may have made it a little too strenuous to begin with. We have discussed that a lot.

"It is also possible that in other places they don't discharge the recruits we feel unable to use. They may be burdened with some people who can just barely handle things. The human material is the same," said Major Lollesgaard, but he also said that it might make a difference that the Funen Life Guard Regiment has so many recruits from Copenhagen. The soldiers in the two other regiments with a 12-month service period have pure Jutland blood in their veins.

Major Lollesgaard emphasized that the defense system is not responsible for all the physical problems that lead to discharge.

"Presumably there are some men who conceal old back or knee injuries when they are being examined. There are people who really want to join the armed forces. They may underestimate the demands and when they undergo the rigors of training the injuries may flare up again."

He said that the problem could be remedied by making a "fitness for training test" part of the physical examination.

"Nothing too hard. One could have them jump down from a chair or something like that," he suggested.

The recruits' representative in the Army's Society for Enlisted Men and Corporals, consultant Poul Sorensen, told INFORMATION that a major part of the reason for the phenomenon had to do with the large number of volunteers:

"The defense system is putting everything into making the new 12-month training period a success. Therefore by far the greatest number of the recruits are volunteers; among other things they enlisted people who had only a limited capacity to perform military service.

"This should be seen in connection with the fact that in most places training is both chaotic and physically strenuous, especially in the first 3 months. People feel they are wasting their time to a large extent. At the same time the discipline is often unnecessarily severe. One of the methods is to make absurd demands where cleanliness and order are concerned. People who volunteer often do so from a desire to test their manhood--if I may put it like that. But in the first year they are assigned to keeping things clean. That breaks down their motivation and then it is understandable if an old back injury starts to give them problems," he said.

6578

CSO: 3613/69

FIRST OF 1300 UPGRADED LEOPARD 1-A5's ENTERS ARMY'S INVENTORY

Bonn WEHRTECHNIK in German Mar 87 pp 62-65

[Article by Wolfgang Flume: "Leopard 1-A5 With Improved Combat Effectiveness Delivered to Army"]

[Text] On 16 December 1986 a solemn ceremony marked the delivery of the first combat-improved Leopard 1-A5 to the German Army at the plant of the prime contractor for upgrading work, Wegmann & Co GmbH in Kassel. By 1992, a total of 1,300 Leopard 1's are to be upgraded, mainly by incorporation of a new fire control system. However, there are already plans in existence for additional combat effectiveness upgrading projects for these and possibly additional Leopard 1's, so that the Army's inventory of 2,436 combat tanks of this type will remain adequate to meet any threat until the year 2000.

The first vehicle, already wearing the Army's new camouflage paint, was turned over in the presence of the Chairman of the Bundestag Defense Committee Alfred Biehle. local politicians were represented by regional delegate Anneliese Augustin and former budget committee chairman and delegate from Kassel, Lothar Haase, who now functions as vice president of the European Audit Chamber and who continues to have close ties with the Bundeswehr and military technology.

In his welcoming speech, Dr Werner Zimni, manager of the Wegman enterprise, cited the cooperation shown by all concerned on both the government and industry side in the development and production of the Leopard 1-A5--this, he said, was the only way in which it was possible to deliver the first vehicle almost exactly one year after the contract was signed, on 12 December 1985.

For Ministerial Councilor Engineer Hermann Sitterberg, the delivery of the first Leopard 1-A5 constituted almost his first official act as the new director of the "Motor Vehicle and Equipment Technology" department in the Bundeswehr. In his address, he reiterated the origins of the present combat effectiveness upgrading:

--In 1976, consideration was first given to system improvements in the Leopard 1 during discussions on the seventh budget item by installing a new fire control system, a distance indicator display for the commander, a new commander's periscope and an effective periscope cleaning system for the driver. The objective was to obtain a major improvement in firing and target accuracy.

--In the middle of 1978, the first result was the presentation of an improved combat effectiveness configuration on the basis of the A4 fire control system, and was tested successfully. These experiences and test results were reflected in the--tactical requirement for combat effectiveness upgrading on 7 July 1981.

--In August 1981, approval was granted for introducing the thermal imager in the Leopard 2, which is now used in the Leopard 1-A5 also.

--August 1982 to July 1983: comparative testing of six Leopard 1's with three different fire control systems furnished by AEG, Krupp Atlas Elektronik and Zeiss.

--Fall 1983: The KAE system was selected as the fire control system version for the Leopard 2.

--Middle of 1985: approval for procurement.

--Upon submittal to the reporting subcommittee of the Budget Committee on 11 December 1985, the contract was signed the next day with Wegmann.

Combat effectiveness upgrading for the 1,300 Leopard 1-A5's will cost approximately DM 1.3 billion; added to this will be a one-time expense of DM 0.2 billion (or DM 150,000 per vehicle) for the planned depot rehabilitation program which is currently being implemented for the second time for the Leopard 1 at the 850th Army Maintenance Plant in Darmstadt and at the Ichendorf vehicle works. According to Ministerial Councilor Sitterberg, the combat effectiveness upgrading program guarantees 2,200 jobs for the next 6 years, with a considerable number of them located in medium-sized enterprises.

Representing the Chief of Staff of the Army, the head of army equipment at Army Headquarters, Brig Gen Engineer Raimund Rothenberger, accepted the vehicle for the tank battalions for the armored infantry brigades and the armored reconnaissance battalions: "During its more than 20-year service in the German Army the Leopard 1 has proven itself in general field use. It is in use in another nine armed forces of allied and friendly nations. Originally, it was to have been replaced by a new generation of tanks, the Leopard 3, as part of the half-generation changeover in the first half of the 1990's. However, cost and other reasons make its continued use entirely feasible and reasonable, because this mature weapon system still has considerable performance increase potential, which can be realized in a cost-effective manner in this and future retrofittings. One particular advantage lies in the fact that the retrofitted component groups can achieve logistic equality in some parts of the fire control system with that of the Leopard 2. At the same time, steps are being taken to ensure maintenance capability beyond the year 2000."

According to Brig Gen Rothenberger, the combat effectiveness upgrading now provides the Leopard 1-A5 with the following:

--"a significantly greater first-round hit probability while stationary and while in motion;

--a much shorter reaction time by the crew prior to opening fire and in firing at groups of targets;

--a capability of conducting a firefight under poor visibility equal to that of the Leopard 2;

--a simplified operation of the fire control system, concomitant with simplified training; and

--a much greater dynamic equilibrium of the fire control system, and therefore much greater availability of the weapon system."

The Army plans to upgrade additional Leopard 1's in addition to the 1,300 Leopard 1-A5's contracted for; additional retrofitting measures are under consideration. Among them is a tactical requirement for a so-called Phase 2 combat effectiveness upgrading, to increase survivability and improve target impact.

The highest priority in this would be improved turret armor--this protective measure is already being tested on some vehicles; it is also intended for the MARDER turret. Improved target impact could derive from a new KE munition (also undergoing testing) or by including a 120mm weapon system; the Leopard 1-A5's are already configured to accept this. This would then result in an antitank battle vehicle... In any case, a Leopard 1 with 120--mm gun has a better chance of being used as an antitank battle vehicle than would a newly developed item.

The Task of the Combat Tank

In his address, Brigadier General Rothenberger discussed the sometimes controversial role of the battle tank in the army: "The essential part of the German Army's mission in case of a failure of deterrence is to repel an attack near the border in cooperation with the allies within the NATO framework, to repulse an enemy who has scored a penetration and to regain lost territory.

This is to be accomplished with minimum damage and in minimum time.

An attempt to wear down a superior adversary in static combat actions based on the exchange of firepower is not compatible with this mission.

Passive reaction to assaults initiated by an aggressor, even while making use of modern technology, will not result in victory, even if the adversary is worn down, nor will it result in regaining lost territory.

The "army system" must therefore be constituted in a way which will permit its commanders to engage in not only passive-reactive, but also in active conduct. It must be capable of forcing decisions to be made. Appropriately large components of the system must be dedicated to that task.

To be viable on the battlefield and to deal effectively with the adversary, the overall system of combat and support troops requires an element capable of constituting the backing and crystallizing nucleus of the combat troops in mechanized ground warfare which is subject to movement, changing situations, uncertainty and meeting engagements. This weapon system must be primarily effective in warfare against the most dangerous, most highly armed and protected targets. It must additionally be capable to function under fire outside of covered positions and under all conditions of terrain and visibility, from close to distant combat ranges.

Thus the allied forces deployed in Central Europe will depend upon mechanized troops well into the 21st century, with the battle tank being the central weapon.

The tasks of today's battle tanks will therefore remain unchanged for some time to come. These tasks cannot be assumed by any other weapon system within the foreseeable future.

Weapon systems in the role of today's battle tanks will therefore remain a significant factor for the long term."

Contractor Firms

Supplementing the report about the combat effectiveness upgrading of the Leopard 1-A5 in WEHRTECHNIK 7/86, the following firms are making the contributions as specified:

--Wegmann: prime contractor for combat effectiveness upgrading, production of component groups, installation and final integration of 780 complete systems;

--Rheinmetall: installation and final integration of 520 complete systems;

--Krupp Atlas Elektronik: gunner's main aiming device EMES 18;

--Steinheil-Lear Siegler: modification of the commander's TRP panoramic periscope; optical components for EMES 18;

--AEG: periscope head for EMES 18;

--Eltro: laser components for EMES 18;

--FWM: modernization and performance enhancement of the turret and weapon stabilizing system;

--Zeiss: components of the thermal imager (delivered);

--Glueckauf: hydraulic components (delivered);

--Army 850th Maintenance Plant Darmstadt and Ichendorf Vehicle Maintenance Works: repair work.

9273/12828

CSO: 3620/186

ARMS EXPORT INDUSTRY PROBLEMS VIEWED

Arms Export Role Examined

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 4 Apr 87 p 4

[Article by Arve Hoff in Stockholm: "Swedish War Material Conquers the World--The People's Home as a Weapons Plant"; first paragraph is AFTENPOSTEN introduction]

[Text] In the beginning there was a prohibition against Swedish weapons export. But dispensations could be had. And dispensations are obviously not too difficult to obtain: Last year Swedish producers sold war material to about 40 countries! Legally, one should perhaps add in these difficult times...

In the 10-year period from 1977-1986 according to official statistics there were over 70 countries which purchased Swedish war material--from vehicles and warships to weapons and ammunition--for at least 10 million kronor each. The total value of Swedish weapons export (hereafter in this article weapons will refer to all war material) in this period was 12.9 billion kronor in current prices. That corresponded to 0.7 percent of Sweden's total export in these years.

Norway Important

Largest recipients were Singapore and Norway, who purchased 1391 and 1348 million kronor's worth respectively. Last year Norway topped the list with 413 million--which was 17.7 percent of Sweden's weapons export.

Also on last year's list were India with 13.1 percent, Finland 12.6 percent, Singapore 9.4, Brazil 7.8, Pakistan 7.3, Italy 5.0, Denmark 4.4 and Indonesia and Malaysia with 4.0 percent each. That means that 85.3 percent of Sweden's weapons export last year went to Norway and these nine other countries.

During the mentioned 10-year period 52 percent went to Western Europe, of which again one-third went to Nordic countries, 32 percent to the Far East, 6 percent to Africa. 4 percent to both Latin America and North America, 1.4 percent to Oceania, 0.4 percent to the Middle East and 0.2 percent to Eastern Europe. All in accordance with official statistics.

Singapore's Role

In reality the distribution was a bit different--with a somewhat lower percentage for the Far East and a somewhat higher percentage for the Middle East. The illegal weapons transactions now being disclosed have mainly taken place by the weapons being further exported from the official recipient to a blacklisted country. Here Singapore obviously played a key role, and many Swedish weapons were apparently sent on from there to the troubled Middle East.

Big Amounts

Nobel Industries is the parent company of Bofors and the gunpowder producer Nobel Kemi--the two firms which are behind the suspicious transactions. How large an amount the illegal export could have come to has not yet been said. There are many indications, however, that it was several hundred million kronor. Bofors' sales last year were 2,939 million and Nobel Kemi's were 888 million.

Versatile Branch

But these two are far from being alone in Sweden in producing and exporting war material. A total of 120 Swedish firms have permission to produce weapons, and 60 of them do. Of course most of them are rather small, and concentrate on equipment for hunting and sports use. But 15-20 firms are of considerable size.

These include, besides Bofors and Nobel Kemi, the state firms FFV and FMV (The National Industries Corporation and The Defense Material Administration), Saab-Scania, Ericsson Radio, Volvo Flygmotor, Philips Electronic, Hagglunds and Karlskrona Shipyard. In 1983 FFV had more employees engaged in weapon production than Bofors, 5717 to 6520, and in 1985 weapons export from FFV was almost as large as from Bofors.

Sweden's large weapons industry is caused by the neutrality policy. As much as possible the Swedes want to equip their armed forces from their own production. But in order for that production not to be too expensive, the largest firms such as Bofors and FFV depend on a certain amount of export. The extent of this export has gone in waves. It grew strongly in the second half of the 1970's as a result of a decline in the domestic demand. That was due to a political decision in 1972 to reduce the investment in defense. Certain controversial weapons firms at the end of the decade went, however, to a tightened export climate for Swedish weapons producers in the first half of the 80's, and the value of exports first sank drastically, and then stabilized, until a new change took place last year.

Palme Helped

Then Bofors, thanks in part to Prime Minister Olof Palme, brought in a giant contract for delivery of a complete field artillery system to India. This order, which is worth at least ten million kronor over a period of 5 years,

will probably cause Swedish weapons export to exceed 4 billion kronor this year. Thereby it will again amount to about 1.5 percent of Sweden's total exports, about as much as the record recorded at the end of the 70's.

Self-Examination

In the middle of the joy about the income-creating order from India, as it ensured a large number of jobs in the Bofors city of Karlskoga, some contrary voices were raised. Was India really, with all its inner troubles and tense relationship with its neighbor Pakistan, a good country to sell weapons to? An intense debate on such questions is now next in line in Sweden, after all the uproar about the unlawful weapons trade. But regardless of precautions: it is good business to operate an arms store under soiled colors.

Norway Large Market

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 4 Apr 87 p 4

[Article by Halvor Tjonn: "Big Customer Norway"]

[Text] At this time Sweden has contracts for deliveries to Norwegian defense forces for about 4 billion kronor. Among the Swedish suppliers the largest is Bofors with contracts for for a total of two billion.

Supplies from Bofors will consist of two products. The antiaircraft weapon Robot 70 and guns for the coast artillery.

Robot 70 is a significant step forward for the defense forces, since it is a very effective weapon against aircraft. The missile can be carried by 2-3 men, and it is equipped with an optical sight. The projectile itself is guided by a laser beam. The operator is certain to hit the target as long as he can follow it with the naked eye.

Bofors Robot 70 was purchased for the Norwegian defense forces after hard competition with the American Stinger missile and the French Mistral, both of which are widely recognized internationally.

Furthermore the defense forces have contracts for major deliveries of vehicles from Swedish producers. The firm Hagglund is delivering tracked vehicles for a total of one billion. SAAB-Scania is in the process of renewing trucks in the defense forces, and has a contract for 750 million kronor.

In addition there are smaller deliveries. The defense forces are purchasing camouflage netting from the firm DIAB-Barracuda for 35 million, fire control equipment from the firm Satt for 100 million, and radar equipment from the computer firm Ericsson, among others.

It is not possible to get information on Norwegian deliveries of defense material to Sweden from the Defense or Trade Ministries. The Central Statistical Bureau, however, says that in 1986 Norway sold weapons and ammunition to Sweden amounting to about 100 million kronor.

9287

CSO: 3639/33

ENGINEERS GROUP: ENDING NUCLEAR POWER TO DOUBLE ELECTRIC BILLS

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 14 Mar 87 p 8

[Article by Dag Bjerke: "Swedish Academy of Engineering Sciences Warns the Government--Stopping Nuclear Power Will Double Price of Electricity"; first paragraph is SVENSKA DAGBLADET introduction]

[Text] If we begin to phase out nuclear power in the 1990's without replacing it, drastic electricity price increases will be necessary to squeeze electrical consumption. This will lead to unemployment and large industrial closures.

This warning by the Swedish Academy of Engineering Sciences (IVA) was directed to the government on Monday.

Prompt and simple savings of electrical energy were accomplished by industry at the beginning of the 70's. Now drastic measures are required for industry to save as much as necessary if Sweden is to begin closing nuclear plants, said IVA's managing director Hans G. Forsberg.

He speaks in terms of doubling electricity prices in order to bring about the decline in consumption that is needed if Sweden is to maintain any reserve in an electric system where a pair of reactors are to be closed in the future.

40,000 Fewer Jobs

"Our contacts in industry point out that such an increase could lead to 40,000 people losing their jobs in the most electricity-intensive industries," said Hans G. Forsberg.

"That would include large portions of the metallurgical and chemical industries and the pulp and paper industries."

"The Swedish newsprint mills would probably be forced to close down operations," wrote IVA in a report.

The IVA is primarily concerned about employment in Norrland and Bergslagen:

"In big city areas electricity consumption per employee is only 26 MWh (megawatt hours) per year--in depressed areas the corresponding figure is 108 MWh, which is double the national average," wrote the IVA.

"We are very concerned about signals now coming from the government about closing a couple of nuclear power plants 1993-1996. We are warning of the very unpleasant consequences of such a decision," said Hans G. Forsberg.

Real Electricity Prices

In that connection IVA also rejects the idea that in electricity prices Swedish industry would be better off than competing countries.

It is believed, based on figures provided by the Association of Swedish Chemical Industries, that the real electricity prices for electricity-intensive industries is rather high in Sweden compared with the rest of the industrial world. (See table below).

The Stockholm Energy Authority has calculated that electricity prices would need to be raised by 3-5 ore per kWh if one or two reactors are shut down soon.

Real electricity prices, including tax, for electricity-intensive industries:

| Country | Ore/kWh |
|--------------|---------|
| Brazil | 10-15 |
| France | 14 |
| Italy | 10-15 |
| Japan | 30 |
| Canada | 6-9 |
| Norway | 5-9 |
| Spain | 10-15 |
| Sweden | 15 |
| USA | 6-25 |
| West Germany | 15 |

(Source: KEMISK TIDSKRIFT).

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